# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 819 AC 012 942

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Grabowski, Stanley M., Ed. |
| TITLE | Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator. |
| INSTITUTION | Syracuse Univ., N.Y. Publications Program in Continuing Education. |
| PUB DATE | Nov 72 |
| NOTE | 142p.; Occasional Papers no. 32 |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Library of Continuing Education, 107 Roney Lane, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210 ($4.00) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | *Adult Education; Annotated Bibliographies; Literacy; *Literacy Education; Publications |
| IDENTIFIERS | *Freire (Paulo) |

ABSTRACT

A sampling of opinions about the philosophy of Paulo Freire as it relates to adult education comprises this publication. All of the contributors are engaged in the field of adult education. The contributors discuss their sentiments regarding Freire's theory of a "liberating" education, using literacy training to give unreachable people in the world some freedom. A quotational bibliography at the end of the publication gives a comprehensive selection of the body of literature by and about Freire. (Author/RS)

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS · NUMBER 32

ED 068819

# PAULO FREIRE: A REVOLUTIONARY DILEMMA FOR THE ADULT EDUCATOR

EDITED BY: STANLEY M. GRABOWSKI

**Syracuse University**
PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
and
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edited by

STANLEY M. GRABOWSKI
Director
ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education

November, 1972

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PUBLICATIONS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION
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## OCCASIONAL PAPERS

A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of adult education.

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGUE CARD: 72-7971

ISBN NUMBER: 0-87060-054-0

Syracuse University Publications
In Continuing Education

# PREFACE

Present day revolutions--of ideas as well as of violent uprisings--are actually the results of evolutionary processes, culminating in what suddenly appear to be radical changes. However, it often takes a dramatic move to "shake up" the established way of doing things if not also shaking up the establishment. This is what Paulo Freire seems to have done and, in that sense he is a "prophet" more than a revolutionary, although he does propose a pedagogy of revolution.

For Freire, education is linked directly with the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and political order. That is why he promotes literacy training as a revolutionary capacity to give the "unreachable" people in the world some freedom and liberation. He is not championing "liberal" education as we have traditionally looked upon it; that is, a surface smattering of arts and sciences, but a "liberating" education--that difficult, deeper growth of persons in dialogue.

There seems to be little disagreement among educators with Freire's call for educational reform, particularly for a thorough reshaping of the relationship of "teacher-subject to subject-object," but there is a strong reaction to his suggestion on how to reshape the relationship between teacher and student, and among students themselves. The reasons for the objections raised by his critics must be attributed to profound philosophical underpinnings of his literacy doctrine.

Freire's call for educational reform comes at a time when adult education is reaching the height of its enfolding and acceptance as a field of study. Fortunately, it is referred to as an "emerging profession," hopefully in the sense that it is not fully and completely established and, therefore, still young, vibrant, growing, changing, and open to further developmental change. It has not "matured" or reached the point where it begins to approach death and decay.

Anyone reading Freire will inevitably ask the question, "Does Freire polarize adult educators, or set them upon a continuum of agreement/disagreement?" To get at least a partial answer, I asked six individuals to present their perceptions of Freire's philosophical assumptions as they relate to adult education. The result is this representative sampling of the kinds of reactions and sentiments regarding Freire one finds among those individuals who are interested, concerned, or engaged in working with adults. A partially "quotational" bibliography appears at the end of the publication giving a rather comprehensive selection of the increasing body of literature by and about Freire.

A word of thanks is due to the contributors to this publication. Also, the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education is grateful to Beatrice Marcks and Fumiko Dobashi for their typing and to Doris Chertow and the Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education for making this publication available more widely.

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# ADULT EDUCATION FOR TRANSITING

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Freire's approach to adult education is designed to assist persons to transit from one way of perceiving reality to a more adequate way; from a state of oppression to a state of increased personal freedom. At a recent session of an Adult Teaching Credential course at UCLA, a member of the class reported that he was an ex-priest who had worked as an adult educator with Paulo Freire in South America. He described Freire's approach to adult education, by which the adult educator assists persons to transit from a state of oppression, through conscientization, to a state of increased personal freedom, as follows:

> Freire would go to a village and enter into conversation with people. He would ask them to help him to observe the village life. He would have them help him take pictures of scenes of village activities which were familiar and common to most of the villagers. The villagers would then come together to see the pictures. Freire would ask them to describe what they saw in detail, writing words under the pictures as they reflected on what they were seeing and feeling.
>
> Then Freire would question the villagers about the contradictions in the explanations which they were giving about why things were the way they were. For example, in one village, the people described the harvest as being very poor. Freire asked them "Why?" Some of the villagers said: "Because the land is tired." Freire then asked them why some of the land seemed to be very productive and other parts of the land seemed tired. They explained that the rich farmers had fertilizer and they didn't. Freire then asked them how that was the case. The questions and answers continued, leading to issues related to their life situation. The topics discussed ranged from those which were primarily theological, political, or economic in nature to those which were basically philosophical in nature.
>
> Frequently, villagers gave fatalistic answers. Freire would always come back to the contradictions which the people themselves had exposed. The people then began, as a result of this process, to think for themselves and to become aware of alternative ways of viewing and coping with what had seemed to be insurmountable problems for themselves and their communities.
>
> In the process, people learned to read, to care, and to have a sense of worth. Freire called what happened to them conscientizacao (conscientization).

The ex-priest's description seems to capture much of the essence of the approach to adult education for the oppressed described by Freire in his writings.

A North American adult educator may be tempted to dismiss the writings of Paulo Freire and his approach to adult education as of possible relevance to adult basic education for South American illiterates, but as largely irrelevant to adult education for most North Americans. To be sure, Freire's writings are considerably different from most other writings in the field of adult education. Freire's political and philosophical assumptions and references, his impassioned identification with the oppressed, and his anger toward persons, systems, and situations which oppress, permeate his writings and may act as barriers for some adult educators in their attempts to understand Freire's approach to adult education and his potential contributions to the field of adult education. While these aspects of his writings make reading Freire a challenge, it would be unfortunate if adult educators were to let these difficulties deter them from coming to grips with what Freire has to say as an adult educator and with his potential contributions to adult education.

Freire quotes favorably from Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara, Martin Buber, and Reinhold Neibuhr. Concerning the difficulty some may have in reading his writings, Freire has noted the following, stressing his rejection of both the far right and the far left: "This admittedly tentative work is for radicals. I am certain that Christians and Marxists, though they may disagree with me in part or in whole, will continue reading to the end. But the reader who dogmatically assumes closed, 'irrational' positions will reject the dialogue I hope this book will open.

"The rightist sectarian wants to slow down the historical process, to 'domesticate' time and tries to domesticate men. The leftist-turned-sectarian goes totally astray when he attempts to interpret reality and history dialectically, and falls into essentially fatalistic positions." (Freire, pp. 21-22)

In seeking to understand Freire's approach to adult education and to assess his potential contributions to the field, adult educators may wish to ask the following questions, each of which is considered in turn below:

(1) Is Freire's approach to adult education relevant to adult education in North America?
(2) What philosophical assumptions underlie Freire's approach to adult education?
(3) How specifically does Freire's approach differ from subject-oriented approaches to adult education?
(4) What would adult education in North America, which adopted Freire's approach totally or in part, look like?

## (1) Relevancy of Freire's Approach to Adult Education

In seeking to provide relevant and effective adult education for the oppressed, Freire stands in a mainstream of adult education. A desire to provide adult education to the "wayfarer," the disadvantaged, and the oppressed has been an intent of North American adult educators since before the American Revolution (Grattan, 1955). Time and time again, adult educators have sought to make education available to the disadvantaged and the oppressed through folk schools, adult education for immigrants, manpower efforts, and literacy programs.

But, according to Grattan and other historians of adult education, adult educators have typically found their offerings of educational assistance more suited to and more frequently utilized by the upwardly mobile than the hardcore disadvantaged. Or, to put it another way, those with motivation have been able to use adult education far more readily than those without motivation. For the most part, the motivated have sought adult education and have paid for it. Continuing education has become a way of life for them and a way of keeping up an expanding body of knowledge in an increasingly complex society.

Frequently, it has not been easy to keep even these educational services available to the adult public. Adult education has tended to be a marginal activity (Clark, 1968; Moses, 1970) in which sustaining average daily attendance has generally been necessary to keep the education for adults going. For many adult educators, programming for the easily reached, those who are already motivated, is a matter of economic necessity. It is not surprising then that the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of modern adult education have tended to grow largely around how to identify the needs of and how to serve the motivated, releasing bodies of knowledge to them.

If, however, adult educators are to serve those who are least motivated, these questions must be asked:

> How do you provide adult education when there is little or no motivation, no drive for upward mobility?
> How do you provide adult education when the purpose is not to furnish answers or to release bodies of knowledge, but to solve human problems?

For Freire, these are far from merely academic questions to be answered when one finally gets around to it. He speaks with the anger of a revolutionary and the urgency of an existentialist. He speaks on behalf of the oppressed (with first-hand experience) and also as an adult educator with first-hand experience. Freire's writings make hard reading for adult educators, not only because of his frequent references to philosophical and ideological concepts and references which are seldom found in most other adult education literature, but also because of his emphatic insistence that relevant and effective adult education be provided for the oppressed, for the disadvantaged; and that adult education, in general, not be conceptualized and implemented in a way which contributes to the plight of the oppressed. Freire has focused, moreover, on finding effective ways to provide this type of adult education. His approach to the subject presents a way of conceptualizing and implementing adult education which does not predicate motivation and which is designed to free persons from oppression.

## (2) Philosophical Assumptions Underlying Freire's Approach to Adult Education

Freire's approach to adult education for the oppressed is grounded in his philosophical assumptions about man and his environment. To categorize these assumptions, what appear to be the dominant philosophical themes in Freire's writings were compared with themes of traditional and contemporary philosophies relevant to education as summarized by Kneller (1964). Based on such comparison, it would seem that Freire's philosophical themes relate most closely to some of the principal motifs of both pragmatism and existentialism. Actually, more than existentialist, his educational approach may be described as humanistic, encompassing the practical implications of existentialist philosophy.

Philosophical topics in Freire's writings include: (a) his stress on the capacity of the learners to change and to free themselves from deterministic forms of existence; (b) his emphasis on enabling learners to use their critical intelligence to demythologize and decode the way in which they see themselves and the world about them; and (c) his humanistic concern for people. His concern for the learners leads him to assess, and to seek to help the learners assess their needs from *their* role perspective rather than that of others. He has found that the need assessments of others tend to be deterministic from the role perspective of the learners, they are frequently a source of the learner's oppression and of a debilitating, fatalistic view of themselves and their environment. Further, he helps the learner to evaluate systems in terms of their effects on themselves and their communities rather than primarily from the role perspective of institutions or persons who have oppressed them.

Existentialist themes also permeate Freire's approach to adult education. He focuses with the learners on their real problems in an impassioned encounter to unveil reality and to make conscientization possible through a praxis of reflection and action, rather than in an objective, detached examination of abstract problems and subject matter. Freire sees people as essentially free and capable of freedom, once they perceive their existence other than deterministically and fatalistically. He stresses the importance of dialogue, through which men can unveil a new reality for themselves. By dialogue, conscientization can occur and meaning can be provided in an otherwise meaningless existence.

According to one existentialist, Martin Buber, without dialogue, culture becomes objectified and persons turn into objects. Buber has observed:

> If a culture ceases to be centered in the living and continually renewed relational event, then it hardens into the world of It, which the glowing deeds of solitary spirits only spasmodically break through (Buber, 1952, p. 54).

Freire's philosophical assumptions provide a basis for conceptualizing adult education designed to help persons break through otherwise oppressive and debilitating barriers to life.

### (3) Relationship between Freire's Approach to Adult Education and Teacher-dominated, Subject-matter-oriented Approaches

In seeking to provide adult education for the oppressed, Freire vehemently rejects teacher-dominated and subject-matter-oriented education. He labels such education "banking education" (Freire, 1968, p. 57), indicating that it can be an instrument of oppression. In contrast, his adult education starts with the perspective of the learner, is problem-posing, and is based on dialogical co-investigation engaged in by the teacher and the learners.

In his emphasis on the disadvantages of "banking education," however, it would seem that Freire depicts two extremely polarized approaches to adult education. Perhaps that polarization has helped him isolate an effective form of adult education for use with severely oppressed adults in South America. But, at least in North America, it would seem to be more beneficial to view contrasting forms of adult education as two ends of a continuum, ranging from what can be referred to as "Type A Adult Education" to what can be called "Type B Adult Education."

Type A Adult Education can be characterized as follows:

1. The learning experience starts with a need assessment of the learners by the teacher and others.

2. The learning experience is oriented to the learning of subject matter.

3. The learning, to the extent that it is problem-oriented, focuses on theoretical problems for which there are theoretical or probabalistic correct answers.

4. The teaching method relies heavily on monological presentations by teachers.

5. Both teaching and learning are engaged in an objective and detached manner.

Type B Adult Education, which is at the other end of the continuum, has the following characteristics:

1. The learning experience starts with identification of reality as perceived by the learners.

2. The learning experience is oriented to reflection and action on the part of the learners in relationship to their common societal problems.

3. The learning focuses on real problems for which there are no predetermined answers and frequently only proximate solutions. It is exploratory, research, or development oriented.

4. The teaching method relies heavily on dialogue between students and teachers, students and students, as well as teachers and students with the world.
   a. Co-investigation is undertaken to identify generative themes relevant to the learners.
   b. The adult educator seeks to help individuals make paradigm shifts through creative social learning (Dunn, 1970).

5. Both teaching and learning are engaged in through existential involvement on the part of both teachers and learners.

6. The teaching-learning transaction is broad-aimed (Weiss and Rein, 1969) and developmentalistic.

Little or nothing can be gained by asking the following general questions:

> Which is intrinsically better: Type A Adult Education or Type B Adult Education?

The more relevant question is:

> When is it appropriate to use a form of adult education which is somewhat like Type A Adult Education and when is it appropriate to use a form of adult education which is somewhat like Type B Adult Education?

With motivated adults who wish to obtain specific bodies of knowledge within a paradigm with which they are already familiar and knowledgeable, it may be necessary and cost-effective to use a form of adult education which approaches Type A Adult Education. The explicit expertise of the teacher and predetermined, specific objectives may facilitate learning in such a circumstance. When adults need to learn rapidly, both they and the teacher may agree that Type B Adult Education would be too slow a process.

Some form of Type B Adult Education, on the other hand, seems to be appropriate when:

1. Motivation is lacking on the part of the learners;

2. Prescriptive types of education have failed;

3. Individuals or groups of individuals feel oppressed or powerless as a result of social, economic, or psychological forces;

4. Persons or groups of persons are caught in personal, vocational, social, or cultural upheavals;

5. Higher-order problems for which there are no known solutions are being addressed educationally;

6. Assisting adults to accomplish developmental tasks is the primary focus of the educational experience.

Freire's approach to adult education is clearly and appropriately Type B Adult Education, given the fact that it was designed for use with oppressed illiterates who needed to transit out of an oppressed state and out of a deterministic, fatalistic view of themselves and their existence. Freire, it would seem, represents a unique application of humanistic principles to a specific socio-cultural and economic phenomenon. In general, it would seem some form of Type B Adult Education is more appropriate than a form of Type A Adult Education when the learners' needs and objectives are to transit from a closed-ended situation to one in which their lives can take on renewed or emergent meaning.

Some form of Type B Adult Education can most appropriately be used when the primary purpose of the education is paradigm shifting. Dunn (1971) has described paradigm shifting in terms of redefinition of total systems boundaries. According to Dunn, it differs from normal problem-solving because the change is something which the system does to itself rather than something that it does to something else or something that is done to it. "It is a recreation of its 'self-images,' a remaking of its own boundaries" (Dunn, 1971, pp. 212-213). Individuals, as opposed to machines, are capable of paradigm shifting.

The oppressed, as people, have the capacity to shift paradigms. Dunn has contrasted the type of learning systems which can be used with the concept of a machine system characterized by a fixed behavioral program. According to Dunn:

> A learning system contrasts with a machine system because it has the capacity (a) to be reprogrammed in its behavior, or (b) to reprogram itself through the action of internal sources of new behavioral ideas, transformation motives, and transformation behavior. In either case it comes to embody new modes of behavior or new kinds of activities, and, hence, new organizational structures.
>
> The principal problems and opportunities with which we are faced in both the developed and underdeveloped worlds do require social reorganization and paradigm shifts to be successfully negotiated (Dunn, 1971, pp. 19, 150).

Freire's philosophical assumptions and his approach to adult education for the oppressed which grow out of them seem particularly well-suited to enabling oppressed persons and communities to shift paradigms or, in Freire's terms, to be conscientized.

Many writers about adult education (Gibbs, 1960; Knox and Tye, 1967; Knowles, 1970; and others) have called for involving the learners, motivating the learners, entering into dialogue with them and other aspects of Type B Adult Education. Freire has made two particularly important contributions to this type of adult education in the form of his philosophical assumptions relevant to adult education for the oppressed, as well as in the process which was designed to permit the adult educator to implement Type B Adult Education and forms of adult education similar to it.

Distinguishing between Type A and B Adult Education is important not only in conceptualizing and implementing education for adults but also in evaluating it. Attempts to evaluate adult education programs similar to Type B Adult Education as if they were Type A Adult Education have, at least in a few instances, led the evaluators and the decision-makers who hired them to label those programs as failures. Such evaluation, no matter how precisely it is done or how extensive may be the data collection, is basically invalid (Weiss and Rein, 1969). Efforts have been made recently (Caro, 1970; Farmer, Sheats, and Deshler, 1972) to develop and utilize evaluative methodologies which are appropriate for evaluating Type B Adult Education and similar programs.

## (4) Adult Education for Transiting in North America

The question remains, "What does Freire's approach to adult education mean to North American adult education?" At the narrowest, it could be said that it has implications only for adult basic education, manpower programs, and community development efforts. Certainly a failure to use a dialogical approach which involves the learner in his total life situation and his needs as a whole person can limit the effectiveness of these programs in terms of the Congressional intents to bring disadvantaged persons into the mainstream of society. It is not enough for an adult educator to say, "I don't know how to motivate people. Send me people who are already motivated and I can provide them with skills or information." When there is little or no motivation, co-intentional dialogue, designed to conscientize, may be necessary and appropriate. Merely to rely on counselors to relate to the adult learners personally and to assist them with problems rooted in fatalism, dependency, or lack of motivation, and for the teachers to deal with these learners primarily on a cognitive basis would seem to be passing the buck and failing to deal with a crucial educational matter. More appropriately, the educational process for disadvantaged adults would be designed to facilitate the dialogical identification of generative themes critical and relevant from the role perspective of the learners. These themes can then form the basis of a "curriculum" which can enable disadvantaged adults to transit from a state of alienation and despair (Anderson and Niemi, 1970) to a more meaningful existence.

But, more broadly viewed, the "oppressed" include all persons who suffer from a loss of meaning or of autonomy. According to Charnofsky (1971, pp. 189-191), the oppressed in America are not only those who have been identified as disadvantaged in the manpower legislation but also those who, although they may be considered affluent and dominant in the culture, have lost much of the meaning of life or have lost control of their own destinies. Using such a definition, one can see the "oppressed" as including not only the Ghetto dweller but also the retiree; not only the person on welfare but also the administrator of adult education who cannot transcend a position of marginality; not only the woman who feels trapped as a housewife but also the aerospace engineer whose technical expertise is no longer wanted by society.

There is crescive testimony (Knowles, 1970; Reich, 1969; Toffler, 1970) that large segments of the population need to be able to perform "paradigm shifting" (Dunn, 1970) through the assistance of education. The aerospace engineer, for example, who can no longer be employed in his profession, may well need education assistance shifting from a world which seems no longer to need his old, hard-won type of technical expertise to a world in which he has a place and a future. For him to be conscientized means that he ceases seeing the world as a deterministic place which does not need him. New ways of looking at that world open up for him, enabling him to change and grow and to become once again able to find a meaningful way of life and livelihood. This process is in marked contrast to a manipulative program whose objectives are determined ahead of time and programmed into the ex-aerospace engineer's educational "rehabilitation." These objectives may serve institutional or societal needs, but the engineer sees them as doing violence (and in fact they may do violence to him as a human being).

In short, an adult education program might well focus on the unemployed aerospace engineers' need to engage in paradigm shifting and on identifying generative themes for their lives before dealing with questions on what new bodies of knowledge must be acquired. (See Farmer and Williams, 1971, p. 318-320). This form of adult education would essentially be Type B. Other brief illustrations of basically Type B Adult Education are presented below.

(1) An adult education program for women might focus on the contradictions of the lives and environment of the learners rather than on the structure of knowledge about women. It could co-intentionally help them to identify the generative themes upon which they can reflect and act to enable them to attain an increased sense of freedom and worth. Its primary purpose would be conscientization. It would not consist of either verbalism or activism but praxis, which is a combination of both.

(2) Adult education to assist individuals in accomplishing developmental tasks, such as preparing for death, may well focus on the learners and the teachers together identifying generative themes relevant to their needs in the face of death, and to include psychologists, theologians, undertakers, physicians, and others who are knowledgeable about dying,

death, and bereavement in their dialogical considerations to these problems. Such a process has been found (Farmer, 1970) to assist adults in becoming conscientized about death in contrast to approaching death passively and fatalistically without constructive reflection.

(3) It should be possible to structure all or part of a graduate program in adult education focusing on generative themes relevant to adult education engendered by dialogical interaction among practitioners, graduate students in adult education, adult education researchers, professors of adult education and/or subject matter specialists. Such an approach might enable a praxis between reflection about adult education and practice, providing a dynamic which could assist those involved in moving beyond endemic problems or marginality.

Rapid changes are occurring in the nature of our culture and society. Thus, a crucial need may arise for adult educators to identify major generative themes relevant to emergent cultures and to help adults transit educationally from old cultures to emergent ones, from old personal life-styles to emergent ones. If so, various forms of Type B Adult Education in general and Freire's philosophical and methodological contributions in particular may be seen as of increasing relevance to adult educators.

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* For an analysis of alternative approaches to structuring graduate programs in adult education, (see Griffin 1971). The approach above supplements the list of alternatives presented by Griffin.

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# REFLECTIONS UPON THE RELEVANCE OF PAULO FREIRE FOR AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION[1]

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We, as adult educators, are essentially humanists,[2] and as such have been involved in a continuing search for an approach to our teaching that would contribute to the enhancement of the human condition. During this pursuit a significant number of us discovered Paulo Freire, and have been excited by his perspective on the need for change in order to promote the greater humanization of man. In particular, we have been stimulated by his deep respect and appreciation of the worth of human beings. We share his anti-elitist views and approach to learning, and are inspired by Freire's commitment to the task of raising the level of consciousness of adults--both exploited and the exploiters to assist them to gain more control over their lives.

The crucial modern need to gain more influence and control over our lives has been frustrated by the growth of bureaucracy; the development of technicism and large-scale organizations and institutions; an accelerating gap in capital resources and income between the industrial and developing societies; and the increasing tendency to view man mechanistically as an object. The capacity we have developed to destroy all human life on the planet Earth suggest we must be more critical of education that does not involve us as active participants. In some sense we are looking at adult education as a way of freeing the adult mind so that humanization becomes an integral part of the human condition. It is my judgment that Freire's perspective may suggest a more effective approach to undertaking this task than traditional education.

At the outset, some characteristics of American formal and adult education will be discussed as background to reflections on the relevance of Paulo Freire for American adult education. Some of the ideas of Freire contradict many existing practices of education. We often confuse education and training or apply them interchangeably, because we equate education and training as one and the same.[3] Much of the curriculum of formal education is developed for its value for the teacher and not the student. Far too many faculty members are elitists who mistrust students, and are more interested in producing imitations of themselves than active, involved, and dedicated citizens who are participating in community activities and taking an active part in helping determine the character of their society.

A glance at the decade of the 1960's reveals a great deal of unrest, conflict, and increasing tension in our country. Rascism, continuing poverty, growing domination of decision-making by an industrial-military complex, increasing pollution of the environment, prison revolts, rising crime rates and usage of drugs, sexism, and the "undeclared war" in Southeast Asia were some of the critical issues that made us aware of a malaise that has infected our people, institutions, and country. This great land of ours--the United States--is wealthy and poor; wasteful and generous, but arrogant; fair but also discriminatory; powerful yet unable to defeat a very primitive country like Viet Nam even with all our technology and indifference to morality and the worth of human life. As a result, internal conflict and dissension continue to accelerate.

Young adults in search of more meaning and relevance in their lives are raising serious questions about our country and its existing policies and practices. Young people, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, women are discovering new sources of power out of their heightened consciousness arising out of continuing struggles for a positive self-concept and identity and a place in the sun. The anti-war movement, frustrated by its inability to stop the war, entered the decade of the 1970's with less apparent unity and strength but with a vitality and courage that keeps the insanity of the war before the American people. The impact of Ralph Nader and hundreds of young people, and recently some oldsters, who have joined in confronting the machinations of big business, industry, and the military--the military-industrial complex--has produced some remarkable results in gaining more protection for the consumer, which represents a major adult education effort carried on outside the adult education enterprise.

While academics tend to be conservative and often unresponsive to the need for change, an impressive development is the growth of dissident groups in the behavioral sciences who are challenging the "establishment" interpretations of human and societal behavior. For example, in sociology there is the formation of a radical sociology caucus which now prints The Insurgent Sociologist to challenge traditional sociology. In economics, a Union for Radical Political Economics publishes The Review of Radical Political Economics. Another group calling itself the Student Research Facility in Berkeley has released a number of studies dealing with various dimensions of American life. Several titles include: "War Incorporated: The Complete Picture of the Congressional-Military-Industrial-University Complex" and "Betrayal of the American Dream: The Economic Facts of American Life." A Pacific Studies Center founded in Palo Alto, California, publishes the Pacific Research & World Empire Telegram for the purpose of presenting non-traditional interpretations of foreign policy, education, etc. These are only a few examples of hundreds of publications that have been organized in the past several years to provide some alternative interpretations to those offered by the traditional academy. There are also a number of underground newspapers being circulated by disaffected employees of a number of large corporations. The Stranded Oiler, for employees of Standard Oil of California, is one example. The Met Lifer is issued by employees of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in San Francisco. The AT&T Express is published by a radical segment within the telephone company, etc.[4]

An interesting adult education development has been the growth of "Free Universities" which offer adults a variety of non-credit courses, workshops, etc. at low cost. One example is a program called "Heliotrope" serving the San Francisco Bay Area. A few titles from this program will illustrate the sharp departure from traditional education in demand by an increasing number of adults. "Finding a Way Out: for people who are tired of living stereotyped lives and want to find new ways of living and relating to people... "; I Ching and Jungian dream analysis; body massage; country living: organic gardening; hatha yoga; beginning astrology; careers in leisure; the magic and mystery of being queer; alternative elementary education; alpha brain wave training through bio-feedback; confronting encounter groups; etc. The August, 1972, catalog advertised for teachers:

> Dear Prospective Teacher,
>
> Heliotrope loves you. Welcome to the greatest thing in education since Socrates.
>
> You are invited to join our faculty.
>
> If you would like to teach a class (organize a project, start a club or lead a team sport), please
>
> (1) Write a blurb for the catalog (75 words or less describing the class and your qualifications to teach it).
>
> (2) Send the blurb (preferably typed) with $ 15 to Heliotrope. (The $ 15 covers a portion of the initial expenses in setting up a class, including typesetting, printing and distribution of 20,000 copies of our monthly catalog.)
>
> (3) Come in for interview and fill out necessary forms.
>
> (4) Deadline for September catalog is July 20.
>
> Thank you.
> Love, Peace & Happiness
>
> Heliotrope
>
> P.S. Special note regarding class fees: Beginning in September, class fees may range from $ 10 to $ 20.
>
> Special note regarding class size minimums: Beginning in September, the class size minimum on all classes will be two (2). If only one person signs up for your class, you are free to cancel it and we will refund

> the student's class fee. If two or more students sign up, it cannot be canceled. TEACHERS GET ONE-HALF CLASS FEES.

Programs of this type must be included in an overview of adult education if one is to remain in contact with all types of adult education.

## Role of the Formal System of Education

The role model for adult education has tended to be the formal system of education (elementary, secondary, and higher education), and many adult educators in a search of status and power seek to emulate this system. Some discussion of formal education will be useful in giving us more understanding of the actual and potential role of adult education, including thoughts on the implications of the perspective of Paulo Freire for our society.

Schools function as a socializing agency to categorize, filter out, or cool out students so that their ambitions or expectations are not "utopian" but "realistic" in terms of available opportunities. Since the schools have a primary task of training students for the world of work, what outcomes does this training produce? The package that we call schooling includes conformity, discipline, learning some of the basic skills of reading, writing, and mathematics, acquiring the ability to accept supervision, and working for extrinsic rewards. Our schools tend to be a conservative force in society, primarily designed to support the status quo. While we often assert that the schools should help their students to learn how to think critically, critical thinking in practice is restricted. Teachers infrequently assume the role of social critics, nor do they tolerate much criticism of themselves or of our major institutions.

An analysis of our schools compels the assertion that existing educational programming is essentially designed to control and domesticate the mass of students so they will conform to existing norms and values. In fact, education supports the status quo by serving as a selection system, helping to determine who is "bright and capable" of succeeding to positions of leadership and power and who will be the "failures" driven to accept more limited opportunities. As we examine the character of our educational system and its powerful impact in helping to determine who is intelligent and who is stupid, we see how the labeling of students acts to maintain a class-structured society which legitimizes the existence of inequality.

Those who are classified as being less "bright" are often assumed to be incompetent, deprived, depraved, emotionally handicapped, stupid, or just not capable of benefiting from an academic-type program. These are the students, mostly from working-class homes, and especially Blacks and Chicanos, who are frequently advised they will not make it through high school and are encouraged to take vocational education courses to "enhance their ability to get jobs." Assisting in this type of defining process is the setting up of a tracking system, or some other form of dividing students in a classroom, so failing is more easily sold to students and their parents. This selling job is accomplished by conveying to students and their parents that the "objective" measures such as grades, I.Q. tests, behavior, etc. are the most relevant and fairest indicators of success or failure. Other indicators such as social class position, occupation of father, race, income, and even prestige of family are seldom mentioned within the schools as being germane.[5]

Our schools rest upon a set of assumptions, seldom evaluated, which largely determine the character of their programming. Some of the intellectual and philosophical propositions implicit in these assumptions are:

> (1) Native intelligence in children is measurable;
> (2) Our devices used for measuring children's intelligence are sufficiently accurate to be relied upon;
> (3) Only certain children are capable of academic education in depth; (4) Children capable of academic education in depth can be identified, in the majority of cases, in the early years of elementary education;
> (5) Program tracks other than the academic should be provided for children incapable of depth academic work;
> (6) The school must help the student to adjust realistically to his abilities and potentialities as determined primarily by intelligence and achievement-measuring tests and devices.[6]

These assumptions fulfill the requirements of our culture for a way of eliminating large numbers of children from a relatively limited market for high prestige jobs. If the schools were more successful, we might be faced with a large number of "educated" young adults unable to find work commensurate with their training.

It may be that our economy is incapable of providing opportunities for a sufficient number of new jobs so some people living in poverty can be helped to become mobile. One approach is to seek out ways of developing a search for an affirmative program of change which will lead to the emergence of an egalitarian society. However, if we succumb to the arguments that the poor and Blacks are inherently inferior, we may be awakened by an avalanche of conflict which can destroy our society. A potential for such conflict may emerge if the poor are joined by more and more students who are being trained for jobs that need few new applicants. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education reported that by 1980 only 20 per cent of available jobs will require any kind of post-high school training; yet the Commission also predicted between 50 per cent and two-thirds of all college-age youth will be enrolled in higher educational institutions and will expect employment when they graduate.[7] In the same press release, Clark Kerr made a plea that "higher education should become increasingly interested in preparing people to live a high quality life, not just get a job."[8] The drive for equal opportunities by disadvantaged segments of our population combined with those college graduates who will not be able to find work may be the fuse that ignites violent disorders unless we start planning for such possibilities now and immediately--1980 is not far away.

The cataloging or labeling of students to determine how they should be graded sometimes occurs even before they enter any classes. For example, if students are grouped in a "high potential" class, they are more likely to be certain of receiving high grades that would qualify them for higher education. Students with "little or no potential" may be assigned to classes where they are not permitted to receive any grade higher than a "C". The impact of low grades contributes to a depreciation of the self-concept of these "low potential" students which virtually guarantees they will experience a feeling of failure and self-blame that may last throughout their lifetime.

It is no secret certain segments of the population are more likely to be classified as failures or inherently incompetent. These failures will emerge from working-class homes, and have a better chance of being minorities, women, and those caucasians with less than a high school education. In spite of the predictions quoted from the Carnegie Report noted above, trends up to the present have established rising educational requirements as a primary condition for eligibility for employment. This appears to be a reasonable requirement, yet Ivar Berg presents some interesting evidence that sharply contradicts the prevailing emphasis upon formal schooling. He asserts many jobs are adequately performed by persons with less educational qualifications than those now demanded for new applicants for the same positions. Employers tend to utilize educational qualifications as a selection device without any hard data to prove that the better educated are more capable of carrying out the job than the less educated. From Berg's data, it appears formal education is more important in getting a job than for performing on it in a satisfactory manner.[9]

> The quality of public education available to the poor and near-poor is almost uniformly low, a fact that contributes increasingly to the visibility of the barrier between the haves and the have-nots. For the have-nots, especially black Americans, there is a special pain in all this, for they are underrepresented in the policy-making councils that have decreed the frightful mess in urban education and the segregated style of American living and learning, but they are overrepresented among those who suffer the penalties in foxholes overseas and ratholes at home.[10]

In a similar vein over fifteen years ago, Whyte in The Organization Man criticized the use of tests for the selection of applicants for many jobs. He asserted these tests could be used to select out many executives who had been very successful in managing these same organizations.[11]

## The Challenge to Equality

Our rhetoric asserts the United States is an egalitarian society, one of our myths most Americans believe to be true. While our traditions proclaim "all men are created equal," following from the Declaration of Independence, existing reality has never created equality in our country. In recent years, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, students, women, homosexuals, etc. have been agitating for greater equality. Local communities have campaigned for more home rule and consumers have been organizing to influence the production and marketing of goods and services. The evidence indicates that the pattern of inequality has changed very little over the past sixty years. Herbert Gans in a recent article asserted that:

> ....although America has sometimes been described as a nation of equals and as a classless society, these are simply myths. To be sure, America never had well-defined classes or estates that existed in Europe, but from its beginning it has nevertheless been a nation of unequals. For example, in 1774, among the minority of Philadelphians affluent enough to pay taxes, 10 per cent owned fully 89 per cent of the taxable property. Over the past 200 years the degree of economic inequality has been reduced somewhat, but in the last 60 years--since reliable statistics on income distribution have become available--that distribution has changed little.[12]

It is true that we have never been a nation of equals. Any claim that we are such a nation today is contradicted by the evidence that the richest 20 per cent of our citizenry receive 45 per cent of the total income while the poorest 20 per cent get only 4 per cent.[13] Inequalities operate even in the payment of taxes, with the poor paying a larger share of their income than any other group.[14]

Now we are witnessing a new campaign by a group of academic "liberals" who are declaring the poor are really inferior because of their biological and psychological inadequacies. Leading off the parade of those who criticize the drive for more equality of opportunity are psychologists such as Arthur R. Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, and H. J. Eysenck, who make the nature-nurture argument that genetic limitations account for the lack of intelligence for those who are at the bottom of the economic and social pyramid.[15] Why is this assertion of the genetic inferiority of Blacks, which has surfaced time after time in the past, becoming popular again? One plausible explanation is that:

> ...the social role of the genetic argument, which not only takes the onus of failure from government policies and national unwillingness to commit itself to large-scale change but also buttresses the weak arguments that contend that doing less for blacks will do more for

> them and the nation...[16]

Edward Banfield in The Unheavenly City presents the argument that Blacks' inferiority is demonstrated by their inability to defer gratification so they are never able to improve their own socio-economic position in our society.[17] Lee Rainwater's[18] description of the human conditions of Blacks in the ghetto suggests a totally different argument that the day-to-day struggle of these minorities to just survive represents considerable ingenuity, intelligence, and talent in face of a very hostile environment. He highlights the fallacy of Banfield's conclusion that Blacks are incapable of deferring gratification. This perspective is similar to the argument Colin Greer examines and exposes in his very excellent study of American public education, wherein the same arguments used to put down the poor and Blacks were the same types of narratives used against the Jews, Italians, and Irish in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

> ...all minority groups, white as well as black, with the exceptions of the English, Scots, Germans, and Scandinavians were negatively portrayed. Jews, Italians, Chinese, and Blacks were mean, criminal, immoral, drunken, sly, lazy, and stupid in varying degrees.[19]

Others like Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan, and Sidney Hook, are also critical of any demands for equality for the poor and the Blacks. Most important, these attacks are conveniently used to convince us conditions have never been so good for the poor. In his acceptance speech for the nomination to the office of President on the Republican ticket in August, 1972, President Nixon asserted that people on welfare have a higher standard of living than most people in the world. Part of this assault upon a drive for extending the opportunities for the disadvantaged is the statement that if somebody is poor, it is his own fault because he is lazy and will not help himself. This statement is similar to the tendency to blame the victim for being victimized. Within education, it is part of our genius to create conditions that guarantee failure for a segment of Americans and then blame them for being failures.

## Ruling Group Mythology

According to Paulo Freire, the domestication and subjugation of the mass of people in most societies is accomplished by the creation of a variety of myths propagated in the schools, in traditions, through the mass media, and by many institutions in a continuing effort to maintain the status quo. The creation of a mythology by a ruling group exists in all societies for essentially similar reasons:

> It is necessary for the oppressors to approach the people in order, via subjugation, to keep them passive. This approximation, however, does not involve being with the people, or require true communication. It is accomplished by the

> oppressors' depositing myths indispensable to the preservation of the status quo.[20]

Some of the myths mentioned by Freire and others include the myth that the existing government and societal structure are democratic in a free society [even the most repressive society frequently characterizes itself as a democratic society]; that all have the freedom of choice of where to work, and if they are dissatisfied, they can always find another job. Also, that the government and the ruling class respect human rights and deserve the esteem of its subjects; that anybody who is willing to work hard can become a boss or go into business for himself; that everybody has the right to an education. Implicit is the claim that the elite in the society deserve to be honored and given special privileges because they are more intelligent and work harder; the myth that all men are created equal, even though we know some people are more equal than others right from birth.

A persisting American myth is that the ruling class is primarily interested in advancing the welfare of all the people, so all of us must be grateful for its efforts. Look at the contributions that Carnegie, Ford, Rockefeller, etc. have made in our society. That rebellion is a sin against God has been a myth the churches have helped perpetuate through the centuries. Private property is held to be sacred and fundamental to the growth of personal human development (and it follows that without private property and profit, man would not have any incentive to work hard). Poor people are poor because they are lazy and dishonest, while the elite are hard working, honest, and carry out "good" deeds for the welfare of all. Obviously, it follows that the elite are naturally superior and the oppressed masses are inferior on all criteria. In most countries, the failure of students is always their fault, and never the blame of the teacher, the school, or the society. When only a few are permitted to graduate from the university, the possibility of equal opportunity for all is a myth. There is growing evidence that children born in poverty may be disadvantaged permanently because of the effects of poor nutrition upon the growth of their physical condition, intelligence, and ability.

All these myths, and many others, are internalized, according to Freire, and are acted upon as if they were true. It is only as we expose such myths which contribute to subjugation that we have a chance of succeeding in raising the level of consciousness of the mass of Americans. In our own society the "bread and circus" routine, whether through sports, entertainment, hobbies, or television provides some tranquility to the mass of people so that they remain contented, satisfied, and apathetic. An interesting example is the often violent and aggressive behavior (the hard-hat syndrome) of poor whites, blue-collar workers, and the low end of the white-collar group toward Blacks and other minorities, which tends to reduce the possibility of resentment of these oppressed groups against the ruling class within our society.[21] The concept of divide and rule has been a very effective technique that has been used by rulers against the masses for many hundreds of years. Within our country, which has been the most affluent society in all of history, the tactic of divide and rule has functioned very effectively to protect the status quo. And education continues to play a crucial role in extending the use of myths so the poor and disadvantaged are more likely to remain satisfied with their station in life without complaint.

Domestication, which Freire discusses as a way of preventing the raising of the level of consciousness of the mass of people, not only exists as a by-product of our schools and mass media, but also operates under the management of the military to reach out for pre-teens and teenagers from ghetto communities to mold them into the kind of citizens the military-industrial complex is able to manage and control. According to a recent article by Corey and Cohen a program of domestic pacification has been operating since 1968 (by the Department of Defense, serving 2.7 million in 1971), to help citizens learn how to "think right." Under the leadership of President Nixon, a Domestic Action Program has been organized to help young people to look upon the military in a more positive way.

> ...as the military gradually absorbs the functions of other executive departments, unnoticed by the public, the specter of an American society even more responsive to militarily defined priorities becomes frighteningly immediate.[22]

## Ineffectual Educational Programming

The ferment in our society, briefly discussed above, does not appear to have influenced many adult educators to change their programming to deal with some of our most critical problems. The most unpopular war in the history of our country--the Viet Nam conflict--has gone largely unnoticed in the majority of programs; racism attracts relatively little interest in programming, and the presence of minorities in the leadership of our field has infrequently been stressed or is of little interest. Sexism is widely evident in adult education, particularly among administrators. With federal funds, we have developed extensive programs of basic adult education but have been relatively unsuccessful in attracting the hard core poor, minorities, or those most in need of education.[23]

Although the field of adult education has grown very rapidly, its major concern continues to be vocational in intent. Generally the audience for adult education has been middle-class people striving to improve their vocational competitive position in employment. Existing research in adult education has seldom dealt with social class analysis and behavior.[24] Asked to characterize American adult education in one sentence, I would say this field is led by some very conservative educators. It appears few controversial issues posing a threat to the status quo are welcomed in its programs. No doubt part of the problem is that the marginality of adult education contributes to its insecurity and vulnerability to budget cuts and limited resources. Trade unions, which have assumed a "radical" position on many issues in the past, i.e., the CIO in the 1930's, are extremely conservative and have become part of the establishment. Not surprisingly very few classes in workers' education are concerned in any way with the possible need for radical social change, but with "bread and butter" issues such as wages, hours, and working conditions.[25]

Our characterization of formal education as being very conservative has not prevented "liberals" and "radicals" from analyzing existing formal education organizations and curricula patterns in a search for ways to improve school programs. Education rings with the names of Paul Goodman, John Holt, Michael B. Katz, Colin Greer, Jonathan Kozol, Ivan Illich, Kenneth Clark, Patricia Sexton, H. F. Silberman, Herbert Kohl, Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Martin Carnoy, James D. Koerner, Admiral Rickover, and many others. From a variety of perspectives, ranging from the conservative to the liberal center to the more radical left, many writers have presented a variety of approaches to reforming and remodeling education. Most of these writers are concerned with tampering with education to improve its quality and service. Some more radical perspectives seek to change many of our institutions so more relevant and meaningful education can be offered. In essence, there is a ferment among an increasing number of educators seeking to examine existing curricula to improve the quality of output, with an expanding number who are proposing more radical solutions for the improvement of education.

Among adult educators, there is relatively little attention or dialogue on principles, philosophy, effectiveness of its programming, and history. They devote a great deal of attention, however, to methods and techniques whose pragmatic value is usually stressed. If one has to compare formal and adult education, my judgment is that conservatism is more apt to exist among adult educators than among educators in the formal system.

## The Cooperative Extension Service

Let us illustrate this point by examining the present perspective of the Cooperative Extension Service, one of the most admired adult education programs in our country, with presumed legendary success in reaching its clientele. Cooperative Extension's contributions to methods in adult education have been considerable; it is the program that is most likely to be quoted by adult educators as an example of good practice. Two of the most important adult education volumes recently published in the United States have been: Cyril O. Houle, The Design of Education and Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education: Andragogy versus Pedagogy. Both authors quote from the Cooperative Extension Service publications as examples of excellent methods and programming in adult education.

In spite of such acclaim there is growing evidence that the Cooperative Extension Service has developed a highly specialized clientele, contrary to its reputation, at the expense of not serving the small farmer (former backbone of the organization), the rural poor, minorities, farm laborers, small town businessmen, small town government, and non-farm rural peoples. In adult education literature we have found a small number of references to this changing clientele except for some work being carried out in a few urban slums.

A recent study evaluating the work of the land grant schools and Cooperative Extension Service asserted that "... Extension has deteriorated to the point that it is not much good to anybody, except maybe 15,000 extension agents who otherwise would have to look for work."[26] This may be an unfair criticism of Extension but does reflect some of the anger of those who investigated the program. According to this study, Extension serves the large farmer, agribusiness, and the generally better educated in agriculture. For example, The New York State Extension Service reported that only 9 per cent of professional time is spent with low-income people.[27] The Indiana Extension Service asserted that only 1.26 per cent of their staff's professional time was with low-income homemakers and housing tenants.[28] In essence, Extension is concerned with efficiency and production which is directed to the largest producers, those with incomes of over $ 10,000 annually. The marginal farmer is given relatively little attention. It may be the professional staff of the Extension Service, contrary to its original purpose, has a "trained incapacity" to serve the disadvantaged rural people. Whether it has been in research or in adult education, the focus and commitment lies with the affluent farmer and agribusiness. This study--Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times--presents some interesting evidence of how special interests are supported to the disadvantage of the small farmer.

Another example of directing its services to the more affluent can be illustrated by the contribution of Extension to the tobacco farmer in Maryland. Through research, Extension has developed a tobacco harvester and curing system which will be useful to only 30 per cent of the tobacco farmers in the state. This machine will favor the large farmer to the competitive disadvantage of 70 per cent of the rest of the farmers. Eventually, these newly disadvantaged tobacco farmers will probably go out of business because Extension has made little effort to undertake research and teaching that would assist the smaller and more disadvantaged farmers.[29] The evidence appears to demonstrate the Cooperative Extension Service serves chiefly the wealthy and more affluent farmers and agribusiness in spite of the fact that it is a tax-supported institution.

In serving minorities the Cooperative Extension Service has a very poor record. When the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights evaluated the extent of compliance of Extension to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in 1971, it found:

> Improvements in the overall USDA Title VI program have been undermined by the grossly inadequate performance of the Extension Service, an agency whose program is fundamental to other agriculture programs. The Extension Service has consistently failed to discharge its Title VI responsibility to take forceful corrective action against non-complying recipients. Specifically, the Extension Service Compliance program has been marked by unparalled procrastination in dealing with numerous State Extension Services which have failed even to file acceptable Title VI assurances. Seven years after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, these non-complying recipients continue to receive financial assistance from the USDA.[30]

There are only 98,000 Black farmers today in contrast to 560,000 Blacks who operated farms in 1950. Median income of white farm families was $ 7,016 in 1970 and only $ 3037 for Black farm families.[31] In addition, out of 67 county extension chairmen in Alabama and 83 chairmen in Mississippi, none are Black.[32]

While the Cooperative Extension Service has an excellent reputation among adult educators for the technical excellence of its programming and educational methods and techniques, its service to the poor, minorities, and small farmers appears to be totally inadequate. In addition, while the number of clients being served by Extension is decreasing, its budget and staff have been on the increase.

## Potential Contribution of Paulo Freire

Existing research in adult education suggests working-class adults are less likely than others to participate in adult education.[33] As noted above, the Cooperative Extension Service is also least capable of serving the small farmer and the rural poor. This evidence highlights the potential contribution of Paulo Freire in developing an approach to the illiterate peasant and the worker, with very little schooling, who are the most difficult adults to reach in any society. In addition to the illiterate, we have many millions of adults who are functionally illiterate in terms of the demands of a rapidly changing society and world. Paulo Freire's perspective and humanistic approach to teaching and learning can have considerable influence upon improving the quality of education for children and adults at all levels.

A central problem for adult education is to undertake programming that will raise the level of consciousness of the American people so they can become aware of the variety of forces--economic, political, social, and psychological--that are affecting their lives. A key concept developed by Freire is conscientization--a social process by which human beings (not as recipients, but as knowing subjects) achieve an increasing awareness of the socio-cultural reality which influences and shapes their lives and develops their ability to transform their society. The growth of self-awareness involves being critical of social, economic, and political conditions in an effort to change existing institutions so full humanization takes place. The awakening of consciousness is necessary so people can not only critically analyze their world and thus attain freedom, but also become aware of their own dignity as human beings.

Freire's emphasis upon the extreme importance of raising the level of consciousness of the mass of people as a pre-condition to true liberation must be placed upon our own agenda for action.[34] Yet, as Paul Sheats stated:

> I must expose the Achilles heel of adult education. We are essentially 'establishment oriented.' If a mere 7 per cent of our clientele is engaged in education for social and public responsibility we have a long way to go before we achieve action-oriented adult education.[35]

The emphasis upon the individual and his acquisition of knowledge tempts us to neglect the truism that all learning emerges out of a social process.

> ...Within the tradition of individualism that has done so much to shape us as a people, we are led to believe that knowledge is the acquisition of the individual man rather than fundamentally a social reality--as though human learning, science and wisdom could be removed from the setting of the total human community from which they came.[36]

The social character of knowledge and its role in the process of conscientization also conveys the awareness that nobody can ever liberate another without his own participation; otherwise, we are treating people as objects who are vulnerable to manipulation and control from without. All of us may join together to participate in our own liberation.[37] An important characteristic of the exploited or oppressed is their tendency to depreciate themselves. Earlier in this essay, it was noted that the school may help students to learn how to be stupid. Freire notes how this occurs:

> Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything--that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive--

> that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness.[38]

The myth of rugged individualism serves to obstruct our search for conscientization which is vital to initiating any action to transform our reality toward the greater humanization of man. In dealing with the need and importance of social change, Freire makes an important contribution.

## Adult Education and Social Change

While adult educators are concerned with social change and frequently characterize the adult educator as a change agent [ ... more frequently his role will be that of planner, consultant, or 'change agent'--a specialized role to which modern adult education literature is devoting increasing attention."][39], their concept of change usually deals with and focuses upon individual self-fulfillment. Another use of the concept of social change is in reference to change needed to improve the working of existing institutions, and this approach and meaning is frequently used by adult educators. However, if we talk about the need to change our priorities and restructure some of our institutions, signifying a more radical approach to social change, we find few adult educators willing to accept, evaluate, or even think about the need for radical social change. An important understanding, frequently ignored by adult educators, is that "social understanding would result from social action rather than from academic study." [40]

This insight of Karl Marx is particularly relevant today; yet few sociologists or adult educators would consider that the study of sociology (or any of the behavioral sciences) is not most useful to understand society, but to help us change existing conditions and structures to enhance the human condition and to humanize man.

The assumption is that if we change the individual, the resulting consequence will be the improvement of our institutions and society. As noted previously, adult education is essentially a middle-class activity which serves the better educated, and adult educators have a "trained incapacity" to serve the disadvantaged groups in our society. The import of Paulo Freire is that he seeks to develop an educational theory which operates upon a theory of radical social change through the medium of an imaginative literacy program devoted to the raising of the level of consciousness of the oppressed and disadvantaged, initially in Brazil and later in Chile, and subsequently in other newly developing countries. My judgment is that Freire's approach to education and social change has important implications for our own country, and most industrial societies, as well as the newly developing countries. Further testing and development of his theories of education and social change will have valuable and important implications for transforming our own adult education programming from a middle-class operation to an approach that will also serve the marginal groups in our country. The elites, the advantaged, and the powerful who control our society by imposing a "culture of silence" upon the masses of people use paternalistic education, schooling, the mass media, and myths to dominate decision-making to preserve the status quo.

An extremely relevant approach to education by Freire has important implications for transforming adult education. The realization that education can never be neutral is central to his assertion that education operates to dominate or free people. Traditional education, which Freire characterizes as a "banking" approach to education, assumes that the teacher knows everything and the student knows nothing, in order that students can be adapted to the system and adjusted to the norms and values of the culture. In contrast, Freire suggests the most creative and growth inducing education is "problem-posing" education which provides for teacher-students and student-teachers based upon dialogue. In fact, Freire recommends that because of the traditional meaning of the role, the title of teacher be dropped in favor of "coordinator." The focus of Freire's theory of education is upon liberation and humanization rather than domestication and indoctrination. Dialogue replaces monologue. Many of the principles of adult learning, which are often ignored in adult education classes, are relevant to Freire's approach.

A recent book by Michael Rossman develops the concept of the autonomous learner which has some interesting parallels with Paulo Freire. For example:

> What is a good learner? It seems useful to think of him as someone with a certain set of skills. He knows how to formulate problems. He can identify the relevant sources, of information or whatever, that are available in his environment. He is able to choose or create procedures and to evaluate his results. Beyond this, there is a set of higher skills, which we might call 'meta-skills.' Stated very loosely, they include the ability to know what he wants (or needs) to learn; the ability to see clearly the process of his learning; and the ability to interact with others to help learn these meta-skills. Out of all this, he is able to create useful knowledge. Let us call him an autonomous learner; for he directs himself.[41]

The author goes on to discuss "authority-centered learning" which dominates our traditional education approach--an approach not unlike the "banking" concept of education described by Freire. In my judgment, adult education is often "authority-centered learning" rather than "autonomous learning," although the important principles of adult learning would support the developments of the autonomous learner.[42]

The choices are clear. We can support the idea of a truly free society or an authoritarian-type political system. As one author stated the case:

> ... The forces of the mass society can work infinite evil or infinite liberation. They can be used to free man for greater and nobler endeavors, or they can be used, as they are largely being used today, to make him a pawn, a cog, in a vast and impersonal power complex against which, seeking his own, he instinctively rebels, instinctively fights--and so turns with alarming frequency against society. The choice is between a liberated and more ethical society on the one hand, a racket-ridden and corrupted society on the other.[43]

## The Freire Perspective

In thinking about Freire and his approach to adult education, I have been very impressed with his critical examination of the fundamental educational and philosophical assumptions that underlie traditional methods of adult education. Some of the scholars who have contributed to his perspective include "Sartre and Mounier, Eric Fromm and Louis Althusser, Ortega y Gasset and Mao, Martin Luther King and Che Guevara, Unamuno and Marcuse."[44] Others with a similar outlook are Abraham H. Maslow, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Karl Marx, Edmund Husserl, and George Herbert Mead. The social psychology of George Herbert Mead, identified by Herbert Blumer as symbolic interactionism, is especially relevant to Paulo Freire. Freire does not discuss Mead, but my reading of these two scholars gives substance to the comparison. Freire's concept of the social individual approaches Mead's concept of the generalized other. Adelbert Ames, Jr., The Morning Notes of Adelbert Ames, Jr., edited by Hadley Cantril and published by Rutgers University Press in 1960, also has direct relevance to Freire. One of my students wrote a position paper containing creative and insightful comparisons of Freire with Ghandi and Tolstoy. The brilliant quality of Freire's analysis is relevant to any educational program. As a serious scholar, he demands careful study in our own country.

Freire's major concept of conscientization--spelled out in considerable detail in his writings-- is not now of any importance in American adult education. But if we desire to strengthen our democratic society through changing some of our own priorities and encouraging whatever structural changes are needed to increase humanization, it is important that we test further this and other of Freire's ideas in many of our adult education programs. Adult educators should read Paulo Freire and reflect upon the implications of his perspective for American adult education. The same challenge is made to formal educators who also continue to utilize the "banking" concept rather than the "problem-posing" approach Freire recommends.

An interesting exercise might be that each adult educator reflect upon the oppressive pressures imposed upon him by his own organization. To what extent have adult educators sought to awaken their own awareness of the social-economic-political reality which influences their lives, and to what extent do they have any power to transform their reality? Since theory and action must go together in any effort to influence their world--through praxis: unity of action and reflection--it is not enough to only reflect but reflection must lead to action. While raising the level of one's own consciousness can be a dangerous activity, it is the only way to develop a sense of relevancy and significance as a human being. To know without acting is not appropriate behavior for a person striving for greater humanization. Paulo Freire is a very learned scholar seeking to formulate what must be done to humanize man. The most important career of man, for him, is to learn how to become a better human being.

Many failures and excessive costs of the formal education system have been experienced, but the actual or potential subversive threat of Freire's perspective to the establishment may deny his theories a fair hearing and testing. We also encounter a staff whose stake in the educational enterprise may result in their denial of the value of Freire, due to the challenge of conscientization to their own views and institutions. The use of his approach in literacy programs may be less threatening and therefore more likely to get a hearing in countries committed to a major literacy program.

If adult education programming were to follow Freire's model and achieve success, there would be no reason to deny its value for all education. Marginal groups and the powerless in any society are most difficult to recruit for any educational program, including adult education. Since success of the individual is built into the Freire approach and occurs very early in a learning episode, the possibility of his program being effective is exceptionally good. Ordinary people can come to grips with great ideas if they are presented to them in a manner and approach that is both meaningful and relevant to their lives. In spite of all the experts dealing with development who assert that underdevelopment is due to the ineffective application of economic principles, lack of capital, and technology, a more relevant perspective suggests that people do not resist change if it is to their own benefit, preserves their identity and dignity, and supports their capability to survive and even make some progress.[45]

If disadvantaged people understand that changed behavior will not be an affront to their dignity, they will be interested in supporting programs of development. Once the "uneducated" realize their lifestyle is not dictated by the gods, fate, or natural laws beyond their control, they will be more apt to realize human arrangements are changeable, and even within their own power to influence.[46] The idea that the haves and have-nots are not natural or divine but merely a human phenomenon and can be influenced to change, is a revolutionary idea which threatens the status quo.

This very brief discussion of Paulo Freire does an injustice to his ideas, but it is hoped that readers will themselves investigate The

Pedagogy of the Oppressed. They are asked to compare Freire's and traditional educational concepts with the goal of examining whether his ideas can work in their own programs, and to identify modifications and changes needed in their application to local conditions in this country that will insure greater success.

## A Few Reflections

Does the existing crisis in our society, discussed earlier, merit more interest and attention in adult education programming? Are we able to afford an attitude of neutrality toward controversial issues on the assumption that education can be and is neutral? No! Neutral education is not possible, and the assumption of neutrality simply signifies support for existing institutions--the status quo. Academics frequently claim science, including social science, must be neutral and value free. Although this model is followed in sociology, for one example, a growing number of sociologists are now asserting that sociology cannot be neutral, a position I thoroughly support.[47] In the same way, adult educators often assume a posture of neutrality. Don't rock the boat, don't be controversial, play it safe, etc. The result is programming which serves our vocational needs and provides indoctrination and domestication of our adults in support of our existing system.

As an adult educator, particularly during the 1960's, I have followed the field of adult education and have been disturbed by its bland approach, its non-controversial stance, and its safe and respectable perspective. During the height of the Viet Nam War, our AEA conventions have attended to business as if no serious crisis existed among our people. Taking a radical position, which was not really radical, was not popular. This was true even during some of the critical events of the spring of 1970. The invasion of Cambodia stimulated many students in the formal system of education to demonstrate against the war, racism, and the pollution of our environment, which carried many academics along in support of a variety of issues within the formal system. However, few adult educators, as reflected in our literature, could be counted on to take a stand. While more adult educators than before are raising questions about existing problems in our country, most are indifferent or totally uninterested. I recall a discussion with a public school principal of adult education in California who insisted that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist front organization.

I am not making a special plea for any particular ideological position or point of view, but simply wish to encourage adult educators to become more open to a variety of approaches and perspectives that honestly address themselves to some of the most critical problems facing our country and world. There is no checklist or proven approach to dealing with many of our problems, but we may have a chance to provide opportunities for dialogue and reflection so our citizenry can learn how to think more critically about our country and its problems, in order to seek more positive and growth-inducing solutions.

Paulo Freire presents an interesting approach that should be tested in our adult education programs. Maybe it will not work in our "developed" society but it is worth trying. It has been refreshing to encounter an educator like Paulo Freire who has a genuine belief in the potential and worth of human beings. Maybe our society, in the name of progress, is incapable of mobilizing our people and resources to promote an approach to all human beings that includes love, respect, and faith that all people have considerable potential for greatness and living together in peace, but we will never know unless we try.

The following quote seems to be an appropriate way to end:

> In these times of crisis, adult education has a unique opportunity to provide learning experiences addressed to the crucial issues and problems confronting our people. Unless we look upon education as a process of helping people acquire the necessary skills to think clearly, critically and imaginatively, we are limiting students of all ages to becoming rote learners incapable of acting intelligently in a variety of situations. The highest purpose of education is not to train students for specific roles but to help them gain some understanding of the meaning of their lives and to become more sensitive to other people. Successful education occurs when we begin to understand the range and complexity of the relationships that affect us, and to be able to have sufficient self confidence in our own values to utilize them in our lives. To what extent is this model of education found in our adult education programs? In our judgment, this form of liberalizing education seldom is practiced because we favor the limitation of the traditional education fostered by the educational establishment. If adult education is going to be creative and meaningful, we must strive to find teachers who can make learning exciting. Hence, the role of the adult teacher is not only to convey significant material for study but to present it in a fashion that exhibits the joy of learning when it relates to one's life and experiences.
>
> While the vocational and training function of adult education is both appropriate and necessary, we must offer learning that speaks directly to the human condition and helps students secure insight and understanding about conditions and circumstances that directly affect them. This may mean that more controversy will have to be introduced into the curriculum. Whether or not we can develop an effective democratic society will depend upon our success in finding ways of involving the majority of adults in educational experiences that foster a critical perspective, an openness to ideas, a willingness to tolerate differences of opinion and the desire to facilitate change as needed in our society. [48]

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# LITERACY: THE CRISIS OF A CONVENTIONAL WISDOM*

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Current attitudes toward modern society range from uncritical celebration to near-total denunciation. This debate on the moral status of modern society cannot be separated from conflicting perspectives on the meaning of "development" with respect to social change in the non-Western areas of the world.[1] Those inclined to take the moral stature of modern society for granted tend to look upon socioeconomic development in somewhat technical terms. That is, they focus on the techniques of social engineering that can facilitate the evolution of "them" into "us." On the other hand, those who scorn modernism (or their own society's form of it) consider "development" to be merely a scientistic euphemism for cultural imperialism.

In recent years the notion of literacy itself has seemed to be exempt from this conflict. Whatever else people fought about, it was almost universally accepted that it was a good thing for everyone to be taught to read and write. The efforts of missionary societies, the United Nations, and national aid programs in mass literacy training became one of the few uncontested themes of conventional wisdom regarding the meaning of humane progress. However, this view of literacy is something of an historical aberration. Serious thinkers about the nature of language have long assumed that the acquisition of language skills was an act of profound moral significance. From the Biblical awe toward the "word" of God to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis about language as the medium of ontology, the linguistic transmission of meaning has been regarded as more than a problem in technique.[2]

This technicist aberration, however, has now begun to break down. It is not so much that literacy itself has come into question. Rather, two questions are being raised. One deals with the meaning of the term literacy. Is it just a matter of knowing how to read and write? Is it that plus something else? Or are reading and writing not even necessary, much less sufficient, aspects of literacy? The second question pertains to the methodology of literacy training. Are the means of becoming literate of such moral significance that they constitute in part, the ends of literacy? For example, if literacy means knowing how to read and write, is adequate literacy training merely a technical problem in how to teach people word recognition and reproduction in the shortest possible time? Or must it be assumed that a methodology of literacy training necessarily contains implicit within it a moral philosophy of education and society? (Goody, 1968.)

My examination of this debate in education will take the form of a critical analysis of Paulo Freire's writings on literacy and literacy training. Freire, best known for his Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970), has been chosen as the focus of this paper for three reasons. First, he is a highly learned man devoted to the theoretical explication of a mode of praxis in which he is deeply engaged. Second, Freire is no narrowly specialized thinker. That is, behind his attack on the established notion of literacy (although not clearly explicated in it) lies a coherent diagnosis of what has allegedly gone wrong in modern societies. Finally, his concrete proposals for change derive with uncompromising directness from the nature of this diagnosis. It is this connection between moral rationale and practice, not faddish negation, that makes him a radical thinker; radicalism entails locating what one believes to be the generic root of a problem, analyzing the implications, and acting accordingly.

The first section of the essay presents a comprehensive analysis, interpretation, and criticism of Paulo Freire's thought. His work is evaluated both from the standpoint of its theory content and its orientations toward action, the latter according to criteria that seem appropriate for assessing the risks in heeding what is essentially a call to revolution.

The essay concludes with a brief second section outlining the universal sociological issues of education whose consideration seems to me requisite for the creation of any sociologically informed philosophy of education. To the extent that Freire or any other educator ignores the connections among these issues, or between these issues and a coherent logic of moral priorities, to that extent has he failed to provide a comprehensive framework for relating a definition of literacy to other aspects of the educative process, however important his particular contributions to that over-all task.

## I.

## PAULO FREIRE: LITERACY AS AUTHENTIC DIALOGUE

To understand Paulo Freire's work it is first of all necessary to see what he considers "literacy" and "illiteracy." After clarifying these concepts we shall briefly discuss how he translates his philosophy of literacy into techniques of literacy training.

For Freire, literacy is a quality of consciousness, not simply mastery of a morally neutral technique. Since it is meaningless to speak of consciousness itself as neutral (i.e., undirected, quality-less), it follows that no aspect of language, as such an important mediator of consciousness, can be regarded as lacking moral significance. Freire draws from this the inevitable conclusion: "every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world" (1970b, p. 205). To learn, as to teach, is an act. Freire's discussions of this point reflect recognition of the influence of instrumental reason upon contemporary conceptions of consciousness. He seems well aware of the subject-object problem as it pertains to education:

> ...this process of orientation in the world can be understood neither as a purely subjective event, nor as an objective or mechanistic one, but only as an event in which subjectivity and

> objectivity are united. Orientation in the world, so understood, places the question of the purposes of action at the level of critical perception of reality... Men have the sense of 'project' in contrast to the instinctive routines of animals (1970b, p. 206).

## "Naming the World"

From this concern for the proper understanding of subjectivity and objectivity arise his persistent attacks upon what he calls the "banking" conception of education. He means by this the notion of learning whereby the learner simply digests knowledge, being "passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside."

> Implicit in the banking concept is the assumption of a dichotomy between man and the world: man is merely _in_ the world, not _with_ the world or with others; man is spectator, not re-creator. In this view man is not a conscious being...; he is rather the possessor of _a_ consciousness... This view makes no distinction between being accessible to consciousness and entering consciousness (1970a, p. 62).

It follows that there is no such thing as a value-neutral literacy text or method. _All_ words either conceal or reveal something. Perhaps the essence of Freire's conception of literacy is found in this statement: "...teaching men to read and write is no... inconsequential matter ...of memorizing an alienated word but a _difficult apprenticeship in naming the world_ " (1970b, p. 211).

This point, of course, raises the question of whether there are valid and invalid ways of naming the world. Freire obviously believes there is a valid way.

> The role of the problem-posing educator is to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the _doxa_ is superceded by true knowledge, at the level of the _logos_ (1970a, p. 68).

What does he mean? Freire seems to mean two things by _logos_ in this context. One is "de-mythologized" awareness, essentially a man's awareness of the true state of his position in the socio-economic structure in which he is situated. He presumably has in mind here the opposite of the Marxian "false consciousness." The other meaning of _logos_ (in Freire's usage) is more philosophical in tone: a man must understand his "ontological vocation to be more fully human" (1970a, p. 61). This conception is never really explicated clearly, but it would seem to refer to man's exercise of his freedom to name the world. For Freire, the phrase "to name" has a powerfully creative and transformative (world-constructive) connotation. All those who, knowingly or not, stand in the way of the progress of humanization in these terms constitute what Freire dubs the "oppressor."

## The Illiterate

On the basis of what has been said of Freire's conception of literacy, we can readily understand his idea of who the illiterate is.

First of all, illiteracy is "a typical manifestation of the 'culture of silence' directly related to underdeveloped structures" (1970b, p. 209). The illiterate is normally viewed as on the fringe of society, as marginal to the socio-economic and political order. Often he is interpreted as being there by choice--as resisting literacy or not having the will to learn.

> In accepting the illiterate as a person who exists on the fringe of society, we are led to envision him as a sort of 'sick man,' for whom literacy would be the 'medicine' to cure him, enabling him to 'return' to the 'healthy' structure from which he has become separated. Educators would be benevolent counsellors, scouring the outskirts of the city for the stubborn illiterates, runaways from the good life, to restore them to the forsaken bosom of happiness by giving the gift of the word (1970b, p. 211).

Freire rejects this concept of marginality out of hand. Rather than "beings outside of," illiterates are "beings for another." That is, they are unconscious of the internalized oppressor within them. This internalized oppressor is a composite of the assumptions about the poor and the powerless held by those who rank high in the social structure and reap its benefits. In many cases, the powerful and the powerless share a mythologized sense of the social order as in the "nature of things"--a natural order of superiors and inferiors. Thus the illiterate, among the most powerless and helpless of men, does not realize that "men's actions as such are transforming, creative, and re-creative." Therefore literacy training will simply not take hold, will not engage the action capacities of men, unless such training relates "speaking the word to transforming reality "[3] (1970b, p. 213).

Such is the philosophic basis of Freire's approach to literacy. He has developed a series of technical principles for literacy training whose rationale is entirely grounded in this perspective. The over-all purpose of these techniques of "problem-posing education" is the achievement of "authentic dialogue" between educator and learner. By this term Freire means dialogue that enables the illiterate, in terms meaningful to him, to discover the oppressor within him, to cast off his "mythical" false consciousness, and to achieve his "ontological vocation" as a creative agent. This agenda presupposes stages of preparation.

## "Generative Themes"

The first stage is "thematic" investigation, by which Freire apparently means intelligently conceived and executed anthropological research on the objective situation and the phenomenal world of the illiterate group being worked with:

> The task of the dialogical teacher in an interdisciplinary team working on the thematic universe revealed by their investigations is to 're-present' that universe to the people from whom he first received it--and 're-present' it not as a lecture but as a problem (1970a, p. 101).

The translation into a problem that the illiterate can understand (including his own place in it) proceeds by way of collecting a number of "generative words"--words which, having been derived from within the illiterate's own phenomenal world, lead him to ask an expanding series of questions about his existential situation. Gradually "generative themes" emerge as the illiterate becomes literate and able to put words together into more complex combinations of ideas. Together, always in dialogical manner, educators and learners move through the literacy materials (words, texts, pictures) gradually "de-coding" them. These literacy materials, or "codifications," are not "slogans; they are cognizable objects, challenges toward which the critical reflection of the decoders should be directed" (1970a, p. 107).

Ideally, codifications are organized as "thematic fans," that is, in mosaics of themes that suggest each other in multiple possible patterns. The outcome of these processes should be the learner's progressive induction into awareness of the contradictions that constitute his societal environment culminating, of course, in his comprehension of how he--a creative agent--was made a "being outside of" society.

Freire's book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, cites a few instances of technical research in progress on varying styles of codification, thematic presentation, and dialogue. But directing all the technical considerations is the underlying perspective on a free man's ontological vocation. Thus the book goes to considerable lengths to distinguish between truly revolutionary dedication to "the people" and authoritarian teaching, between propaganda and codifications, between manipulation and education, between true and false revolution. For Freire, any meaning of literacy short of liberation in these terms constitutes not social development but cultural invasion.

## A Commentary

It has been argued here that, despite Freire's preoccupation with political oppression his thought is applicable to a whole range of issues connected with false consciousness. By false consciousness is basically meant a psychic condition in which the role of the self's agency (volition, creativity, responsibility) in the production and maintenance of the social world is obscured by interpretations of reality which conceal or disguise these dynamics from the self. Technicism-- the mass loss of insight into and control over the disposition of techniques in social life--has been cited as one very fundamental form of false consciousness. Critiques of this sort are often seen as pitched on a high level of philosophical abstraction--what the "practical" man likes to dismiss as pure "theory" if not "mere rhetoric."

Freire's attack upon the established notion of literacy has posed the issue in a way very difficult to dismiss out of hand as impractical. To be told that one's way of educating and being educated produce people who are stunted human beings, helpless before an inscrutable though man-made environment, strapped into unnatural strata of power and subordination, and mystified by institutionalized mythologies, is to feel called upon for a practical reaction. And if one can succeed in demonstrating that the most powerless and marginal of persons (functionally illiterate peasants) can be inducted into a life of responsible praxis, then one has cause to believe it can be achieved with anyone, despite the celebrated failures and costs of formal educational efforts. Freire's work is not only an indictment of established educational practices. It is also a powerful vote of confidence in what can be called the humanistic possibilities of correct methods of educational intervention into even the most degraded circumstances of false consciousness and social oppression.

Given such stakes, it is obviously important to develop criteria for assessing the arguments of radical educational thinkers such as Freire. If carefully articulated, such criteria can serve as a basis for cumulative progress toward the construction of a sociologically viable philosophy of public education which is so badly needed in societies that still stress the dignity of the person as a responsible agent.

Three such interrelated criteria, expressible in the form of questions, seem particularly appropriate. First, is the argument for a radical change consonant with evidence adequate to assess it (the criterion of evidence)? Second, is the argument based upon the conviction that some precisely specifiable alterations of a given social practice will conclusively resolve the moral problems defined in the critical diagnosis of existing society that led to the new proposals (the criterion of utopianism)? Third, is the argument adequately elaborated in terms of its practical implications for the socio-cultural order at large (the criterion of refinement)? Let us apply these questions one at a time to Freire's thought.

## Evidence

The credibility of Freire's methods is implied by anecdotal accounts of peasants in Brazil and Chile being taught to read in a very short time. Naturally, any progress of this sort is to be welcomed. However, Freire claims to represent more than humanitarian anecdotes of progress. He is claiming for this method of literacy training a revolutionary capacity to mobilize radical praxis among the most "unreachable" people in the world. Given the philosophical underpinning of his approach to literacy, this alleged capacity constitutes a serious test case of Freire's whole view of human possibilities. It follows that judgment about his specific claims should be suspended pending systematic study of his methods' efficacy in various settings. This will be difficult to implement widely, given the apparent acceptance (to judge from Freire's exile status) by governmental authorities of Freire's own claims for the subversive significance of his doctrines. Experiments based on such new doctrines of literacy are reasonably achievable projects in liberal-democratic societies where political oppression is not of the kind Freire experienced in Latin America. But precisely because of the much greater complexity and subtlety of the moral problematics of false consciousness in democratic societies, even the stipulation of criteria for what would constitute evidence in favor of Freire's perspectives is much harder than in situations of almost self-evident oppressive inequalities.

It would perhaps be unfair to expect Freire to address such problems of evidence. Yet the profound philosophical underpinning of his literacy doctrine suggests that he considers his views on the meaning of literacy to be of universal significance. Certainly the effort here to translate his views into the context of technicism as a mode of false consciousness reflects my own conviction that Freire's position is relevant to industrialized democracies. Clearly, those of us who share Freire's hope that an anti-technicist mode of literacy is both possible and sociologically efficacious face severe problems of evidence.

### Utopianism

Utopianism is, in my opinion, a problem in Freire's thought. It is evident in an uncritical tendency to regard his notion of literacy as the key to liberation and a life of praxis for all men. This is to say that he does not apparently take much note of the complexities, much less the dark side, of the notion of liberation itself.

Let us enlarge on this point by way of three examples. We shall consider a) the ambiguities in liberation defined as men's realization that they make their own nature and their world; b) the issue of hidden elitism; and c) the problem of chiliastic impatience.

In his magisterial intellectual history of theory and practice as concepts, Nicholas Lobkowicz (1967) reminds us of the following:

> Giambattista Vico, the last great heir to the ideas of Renaissance Neo-platonism, defined man as a posse, an indefinite nature able and thus also forced to determine himself.
> It should be noted, however, that prior to the nineteenth century this exaltation of man's capacity of determining himself usually was not paralleled by any significant enthusiasm as to man's capacity to grasp the theoretical secrets of the universe or even his power to master nature by his inventions. In fact, it usually was linked with a basic skepticism as to the force of natural reason (p. 137).

Lobkowicz adds that

> It was not until Hegel and Marx that philosophers began to realize that the same notion could be extended beyond the realm of 'doing' to the realm of 'making,' from the realm of ethics

> and politics to that of economics and technology. As far as I can tell, no one before Hegel, and in a sense no one before Marx, ever claimed that man can transform himself by transforming the material world. But as soon as this idea emerges, the role traditionally played by practice, in the sense of ethicopolitical doing, will decrease until in Marx it completely gives way to the notion of homo faber.... ( p. 139).

From these comments we may infer four quite different ways of asserting that men determine their nature and their world, each way possessing moral implications unique to itself.

First, one may say that men invent their conduct and generate the coordinates of the human world (language, arts, sciences, artifacts), but are helpless to do so in a deliberate way according to plan. One contemporary exemplar of this point of view is Leslie White (1949) who insists upon a discrete discipline of "culturology," the study of culture as a sort of independent variable. For White, awareness of the role of culture in human existence may legitimately be regarded as an important source of insight into historical changes, and hence as a resource for more intelligent adaptation. However, it hardly justifies ecstatic dreams of liberation into some state whereby men can control the evolution of their civilization in any way they happen to please at a given moment (1949, pp. 330-359). In this context one might well conclude that effective praxis is not revolutionary action but rather the maintenance of conditions in which the influences of critical awareness of the evolution of culture can be kept at a maximum.

A second way one may assert the proposition in question is to say that men invent their world through trial and error by way of processes that--if men are left alone to rationally pursue their interests--are far more benign in their results than could be said of any product of deliberative design. This is the central faith of Anglo-Saxon utilitarian liberalism. To those who share it, praxis consists largely of encouraging the conditions for a free market, including consumer sovereignty in economic production and political choice. Inevitably one is then heir to the well-known tensions that exist between the humanistic emphases on liberty and equality of which de Tocqueville was such an acute prophet.

A third interpretation, one of rather tragic grandeur, is the notion that people create their world only in rare moments of true praxis under the impetus of charismatic inspiration. With the routinization of charisma that inevitably follows, the logic of the factual world, so to speak, has its own impersonal way once more. Such a view, exemplified best in modern times by Max Weber, lends itself to a notion of praxis as clearing the way whenever possible for fresh episodes of charismatic renewal. In the name of this abstract goal one could advocate anything from resistance against excessive bureaucratization to frankly romantic rejection of modern rationality pending the advent of new Caesars and Messiahs.

Finally, it could be said that men are destined one day to evolve into true freedom whereby they consciously and cooperatively appropriate the world and transform it into a structure designed for optimal human fulfillment. As phrased, this is an expression of Marxist humanism. But from Saint-Simon to modern would-be policy science, a far less romantic and more elitist technocratic version of this interpretation of praxis also exists (Stanley, 1972b).

We thus see that literacy, defined as the awareness that people can make their world, is philosophically an insufficiently explicated legitimation of a revolutionary oriented literacy training.

There is another sense--the sociological--in which the notion that people make their world is not explicated in Freire's work. The search for a scientifically viable notion of freedom that regards men as capable of defining and inventing their world is high on the agenda of some scholars today. Efforts to define freedom in this way must contend with the class of arguments that regard such freedom as accompanied inevitably by anxiety associated with temptations toward unlimited aspirations and unexpected frustrations via the factualities of action's unanticipated consequences. Those who bid us to revolution in the name of freedom must make their case in a way that is credible to people who have lived through a half-century of ideologically-inspired terrors. This is a particularly important requirement when the revolution being urged has greater ambitions than the traditional utilitarian liberal-democratic thrust for economic and political melioration.[4]

Having reviewed the first problem pertaining to the definition of liberated praxis, we turn now to the second: the issue of hidden elitism.

Hidden elitism hovers behind any theory of false consciousness; he who understands the dimensions of true consciousness, whatever they are, must necessarily--however temporarily--play the role of an elitist guiding the unenlightened to their proper destiny. Freire appears to accept this elitism for his educator, as we see in his almost religiously inspired prescription for this personage, "Conversion to the people requires a profound rebirth." Ironically, this allows his teacher to bask within the historical after-image of the dedicated missionary, the most sophisticated of whom understood the technical psychology behind Freire's program of literacy training quite well.

Freire's views, as we have seen, place an extraordinary emphasis upon education as the instrument of liberation. If Freire were to carry the matter further and admit that social mobilization of large numbers of unenlightened people is also necessary for revolution, Leninism would have to be the next step in his thinking. Under such conditions of mass mobilization, both church and secular history suggest that the saintly educators whom Freire depends on to keep his revolution honest would turn out to be in short supply.

More fundamentally, the risk of unadmitted elitism stalks anyone who insists on using the term "myth" to characterize perspectives with which he disagrees. No faith perspective on what it ultimately means to be fully human (including the antitechnicist perspective to which this writer subscribes) is any longer completely immune to the challenges of philosophical and historical relativism. In other words, there is no way in which intellectual criteria can be used to demonstrate conclusively the timeless validity of one set of moral axioms against all others. This understanding has led to a new respect for the role of myth in social life.

It is, of course, likely that Freire is well aware of such problems and would apply the term "myth" only to almost self-evident justifications of social oppression. Indeed it would not even have been necessary to make this last point were it not for a conspicuous failure on Freire's part to attempt a more universally relevant definition of "oppression" in his book. As it stands, his approach to this concept is dangerously abstract and rhetorical. Somewhat special circumstances characterize social stratification in Latin America. Application of his ideas to the developed Western world and other parts of the Third World could have tragically irrational results. Extreme circumstances (e.g., ignorance, helplessness of peasants, internalization of ruling class contempt) that would justify an all-out revolutionary policy whereby people are encouraged to act such that

> the oppressed must see examples of the vulnerability of the oppressor so that a contrary conviction can begin to grow within them (1970a, p. 51)

simply are not equally distributed throughout the world. Yet Freire writes as if they were. Further, Freire's very definition of oppression as

> Any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person ..... (1970a, p. 42)

skirts dangerously close to the totalitarian doctrine of the "objective enemy" which Hannah Arendt so rightly excoriates:

> The chief difference between the despotic and the totalitarian secret police [she writes] lies in the difference between the 'suspect' and the 'objective enemy.' The latter is defined by the policy of the government and not by his own desire to overthrow it. He is never an individual whose dangerous thoughts must be provoked or whose past justifies suspicion, but a 'carrier of tendencies' like the carrier of a disease (1958, pp. 423-424).

Finally, there is the problem of what we have called chiliastic impatience. To put it briefly, Freire seems to place all his hopes on educational enlightenment about the true nature of human agency. Nowhere does he seem to consider the possibility that a significant proportion of people might come to reject such radical freedom in favor of benign authoritarianism and aesthetically-tinged mystifications once they discovered that radical praxis meant hard work, unrationalized frustrations, and "too many evenings." Radicals generally are not wont to consider with sympathy the arguments made by Dostoevski's "Grand Inquisitor." Yet as much evidence surely exists for this interpretation of human beings as for any other. To be liberated into discovering the often humdrum facts of one's normal humanity could well induce a kind of indefinitely de-stabilizing chiliasm in intelligentsias that refuse to cease their quest for the Holy Grail of human perfectability.

Again, it may seem almost vulgar to bring forward such considerations under the conditions of Latin American and many other Third World societies. But Freire aspires to a universally relevant theory of revolutionary literacy training. And, in the name of his vision of liberation, he tends to downgrade revolutions powered by lesser aspirations. Is it not necessary (even perhaps in such oppressive societies) at all costs to avoid dividing the population into simplistic dichotomies of "oppressor" and "oppressed" as though some utopian Armaggedon were possible that would finally purify the realm of all vestiges and versions of the ubiquitous "oppressor"? In such an artificial polarization, most of us incapable of some masochistic renunciation of our traditional identities might well find ourselves in the "oppressor" class.

### Refinement

Freire does not go far at all in ramifying sociologically the practical implications of his literacy program for the larger orders of society and world. Without benefit of such refinement, there is much risk in heeding the call to cultural revolution.

We will not spend much time with Freire on this topic because his attention was focused on the issues immediately surrounding adult literacy training. However, as we have already implied, much refinement is necessary and possible for Freire if his ambition is the development of a universally relevant radical theory of literacy as an instrument of social change. Three very brief reminders of needed refinements must suffice here.

First, if carried to its absolute logical conclusion, Freire's theory of literacy as an instrument of social change requires a virtual commitment to social development as persisting revolutionary de-stabilization rather than as any kind of recapitulation of Western modes of social evolution. This is because (especially if the government itself is not a left-humanist regime) not all sectors of the population can be made literate in Freire's extreme sense simultaneously. People's capacities, experiences, interpretations of life, and ambitions differ too much. Further, it is very likely that people's responses to such a form of "awakening" will vary. They will range from the utilitarian egoism appropriate to a liberal order, through communalist fervor appropriate to a socialist order, to apocalyptic enthusiasm appropriate to mass cults. In brief, Freire's literacy will not mean the same thing to all people. Freire seems to assume it will and has nothing to say about how such profound energies, once liberated, are to be structurally channeled so as to avoid both the destructiveness of persisting de-stabilization and the recapitulation of past forms of oppression.

Second, we have already commented upon the dangers of applying a simplistic oppressor-oppressed dichotomy even to heavily caste-stratified societies, much less to all societies. Yet this dichotomy plays an important role in Freire's literacy theory. One cannot help wondering if Freire is unnecessarily inviting exile.

Finally, the notion of a fundamental and universal "new man" literacy is itself not new. The task for a radical analysis of literacy in these terms is to evaluate the religious and secular history of such efforts in the past, and on that basis plus studies of contemporary experiments, to introduce a much more refined analysis of the "new man" concept and its possibilities under varying conditions.[5]

To do this, however, will require unashamed confrontation with the elitist implications of "new man" literacy doctrines. History does not make us sanguine about the efficacy of Freire's call to "revolutionary trust" in the people. On the contrary, it rather seems to prepare us for, in Carl Bereiter's words, "something of a paradox: the most important educational goal of free men is one that men will not pursue of their own free will" (1971, p. 47). One may, of course, respond with a flat assertion of a contrary faith as Everett Reimer does:

> I believe... that a proper organization of society could make available to everyone the circumstances that only scientists now enjoy and that under these conditions everyone would find the pursuit of reality natural and enjoyable (1971, p. 89).

But it is surely not unreasonable to ask that one prepare to be wrong, and to decide whether in that event it would be the elitist or the relativist chips one will let fall where they may.

The analysis thus far has articulated a view on the universal significance and the existing limitations of Paulo Freire's thoughts on literacy. The efforts of a sociologist to contribute to the cumulative historical conversation on education would be insufficient without some conception of the durable universal sociological questions that must be addressed by anyone wishing to enlarge Freire's position on literacy into a comprehensive philosophy of education.

## II

## SOME SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS FOR A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Ideological issues aside, let us contemplate for a moment a universal sociological definition of literacy implied by a non-technicist perspective like Freire's. Literacy may be thought of as the minimal capacity both to understand the moral implications of and to act upon the demands of competence for what a particular society defines as responsible participation of the person-as-agent in nature, society, and other persons.

This definition puts stress on the person-as-agent (hence on responsible participation), and on the integral nature of participation as a concept (i.e., it involves a view of what it means to live and act in nature and in other persons as well as in something called a group).

This definition, then, reminds us that -- however ultimately interpreted in mythological and moral frameworks -- there are certain demonstrable, primary, and universal facts about human beings in relation to any society. They may be summarized as follows:

(A) All humans are beings whose consciousness is formed by having been socialized into a given society. This society brings to bear upon them certain expectations whose fulfillment requires competencies. All societies make an effort to transmit aspects of some or all of these competencies through the socialization process.

(B) All individual human beings must experience the world in a manner somewhat unique to each one. Hence all social norms are open to some degree of interpretation. The "fit" between person and society is therefore never perfect. Thus all persons have a certain latitude of freedom to accept, modify, or reject the interpretations of reality, definitions of competence, and expectations for action that authoritative agents of society seek to impose on them. This freedom, rooted in the aforementioned lack of perfect fit between individual and society, is enforceable at least-- if in no other way -- by the individual's willingness to choose death over conformity. This is the universal minimal basis for the assertion that all persons are responsible agents and can never be validly regarded only as tools or products.

(C) Whether a society formally recognizes this fact in its system of socialization or not, all human beings both directly and indirectly inevitably participate in nature and in the fate of a wide range of other persons, as well as in the more organized processes of group life. This process of participation always exceeds in complexity the institutionalized norms of participation and related competencies that a society establishes for purposes of socialization. Short of some inconceivably perfect totalitarianism, no society can ever prescribe modes of participation in such a way that the results of human action upon nature, society, and other people will be perfectly predictable.

What this all adds up to is that a person can never be definitely regarded as "literate," only as more or less so. Further, it can never be objectively clear at any given moment what "essential" skills and knowledge really are, nor what "effective" functioning in group life finally is. This emphasis on the unstable, dynamic, and imperfect character of literacy definitions may seem, and really is, a truism. But it is precisely the drive to express literacy operationally in quantitative terms (skill tests and school levels achieved) that obscures some of the most perplexing problems that a society faces when it seeks to decide what it means to be minimally competent, or literate. Making people literate must surely include bringing them to understand what these problems are, and why they are often perplexing or not conclusively answerable. Another way of saying this is to remind ourselves that to become literate is to learn as much about anxiety as about adjustment.

It should not be difficult to deduce from these comments what some of the central durable sociological issues of education are. Space precludes anything more than listing them here.

1. Socialization is a universal phenomenon; education as a more formal institution is not. Education in the highly differentiated sense of structured schooling is even less common. What are the constraints placed upon fulfilling educative functions that flow specifically from the various possible ways in which the separation of education and socialization may evolve in a given society? For example, a society whose authority is modified by radical cultural pluralism cannot effectively (i. e., beyond the level of platitudes) utilize a specialized public educational system for moral (as against skill) socialization. To do so would violate that society's basic consensus about the prerogatives of public as against private domains.

2. Is there anything that all members of a given society should or must be required to know as a pre-requisite for recognized membership in the society in its dimension as a moral community? That is to say, to what extent should definitions of functional literacy be restricted to skill as against moral criteria? Are there specific conditions under which the communal competencies of a population must be strengthened as a requisite for the continued survival of the society? One example of such an issue is the educational questions that flow from nation-building efforts in the developing countries of the non-Western world. Another example is the apparent necessity to induce new levels of literacy about communal standards of stewardship over the natural environment in wealthy societies that--in the name of private pursuit of interests--have permitted the pollution of their environments to a point of common danger.

3. There is a universally relevant distinction to be made between an educative context as action, and an educative context as thought. The contemporary uncritical emphasis on "theory" as something to be translated into "practice" obscures a fact that was more clearly appreciated in pre-modern societies than in our own: there are certain vitally important things that cannot be taught on the level of theory. This fact leads to the universally relevant educational question of how much any given society

should emphasize the transmission of literacy through educative action as against didactic verbalization. This question transcends abstract platitudes about learning-by-doing. It touches on profound matters such as the educative significance of rituals, rites of passage, and the problems of translating into universalizing educative language the curriculum of life's vicissitudes. One example of such considerations is the present American debate over the proper status of Peace Corps and VISTA-type experiences in the educative process. Another example is the Chinese debate of the educative significance of Cultural Revolution episodes.

4. Another question (whose significance was understood in pre-modern societies somewhat better than in our own) grows out of the obviously universal importance of the double nature of all individuals--the intellectual and the emotional dimensions of being human. Accordingly it may be asked: to what extent should a society institute an educative program for the disciplining of the emotions that is in some way functionally equivalent to "logic" as the educative language of the intellect? The current neglect of this question in most Western societies (except perhaps in military contexts) should not obscure its importance or the likelihood of its being re-opened. Forces that will probably lead to the revival of the question include the seemingly incredible failures of inter-cultural comprehension revealed by data such as the Pentagon Papers; the strange proposals by some prominent figures such as the use of drugs to domesticate aggression among political elites, or the application of operant conditioning principles to whole populations; the growing preoccupation with the meaning of the totalitarian episodes of the present century; and the educative implications of laboratory tests showing that self-control of the autonomic nervous system is technically feasible.

5. One of the central features of modern scientific secularism is the fragmentation of the world into two alleged realms: the factual and the moral. This fragmentation is linguistically expressed in our educative terminology as the disjunction between the "empirical" and the "normative." Yet recent scholarship has increasingly stressed the enduring importance for societies and persons of what are commonly called "mythological" orientations. These are perspectives on reality that, while outside the strictly factual domain, are nonetheless vitally important influences upon a population's sense of what is meant by reality, truth, time, worth, etc. The question that follows from this is: to what extent is it either desirable or possible to attempt a total separation of the "empirical" and the "normative" as regards methodological themes in the educative processes of a given society?

This issue transcends in complexity and subtlety most of its current doctrinal formulations such as the one of separation between church and state. By way of example I shall cite two of the deepest normative questions embedded in Western civilization's mythological representations. On the rhetorical level we encounter these in a) the tensions between the principles of "authority" and "liberation," and b) the confusion over the concept of "progress."

The problematics of liberation and authority have received important sociological formulation in the writings of Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim respectively, specifically in their discussions of alienation and anomie.[6] Anomie is Durkheim's socio-moral diagnosis of a society characterized by a population prone to unlimited aspirations. Alienation is Marx's diagnosis of a society characterized by social processes that result in mystifications which conceal from a population the facts of its own agency in the creation of the social world. A voluminous literature of ideology inspired by these formulations has emerged in recent generations. Should a society seek to make such key formulations part of its program of moral literacy training?

This question applies likewise to the problem of how to deal with the despair that inevitably attends crises of confidence surrounding a society's eschatological myths. In the West this is now an issue because of a declining faith in the definability of "progress." Should the teaching of eschatology--its relations to the dynamics of hope and despair, and its connections with the mass movements of yesterday and today--be an important part of society's established educative efforts? Is the price of not doing so a possible or even inevitable relapse into conflicts between official technicist abstractions about necessary "superordinate goals" and counter-culture rhetoric of mindless ecstasy?

6. The last question to be considered here is one deriving from the universal fact that all educative contexts are embedded in larger institutional environments of social regulation and control. The question is: to what extent should educative practices be uncritically subordinate to the central values of these larger environments?

The example utilized here is the influence of the market economy upon a liberal society's notion of value and the impact of this notion of value upon education. The major direction of influence that a market economy brings to bear on values is, of course, their translation into marketable commodity forms. This is clearly evident with respect to the values of knowledge and vocation. A major way that knowledge as a commodity appears in the educative context is in the institution of the mass-marketed "textbook." A major way in which the market interpretation of vocation appears in the educative context is the confusion between the many meanings of vocation and the idea of education as preparation for the "job" market. It is easy to show that the mass-marketed textbook operates to seriously distort the meaning and significance of ideas. It is likewise easy to demonstrate that the job mentality corrupts the nobility of some powerful alternative notions of what vocation is all about by making them appear as abstract platitudes. The question is to what extent should the educative process be deliberately designed to counteract (and hence conceivably undermine) the dominant values of the larger environment--in this example, those inspired by the market economy? This is no different from asking what is the proper relationship between education and social criticism? Put still another way, should education have something to do with inducing sensitivity to subordinate or alternative norms and values as well as dominant ones? If so, along what range of variations?

Such questions as we have outlined here are not subject to definitive answers in anything short of a totalitarian context. Indeed, functional literacy in a modern complex democracy may well have to be defined first of all as the competence of a population to comprehend and participate in answering these questions in relation at least to the details of their own lives. For however their content may vary, in form these are questions that derive from the perennial social and psychic characteristics of society as such. In more visionary terms, a population capable of understanding such issues in comparative perspective and detail would indeed qualify as literate on a highly cosmopolitan scale.

It may well be that the creation of an international civil service will present the first real opportunity for the operationalization of a mode of literacy in these more advanced senses. Ironically, given the rigidities of educational practice in the established societies, innovation along such lines may actually proceed more rapidly one day on the international than the national level.

## FOOTNOTES

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** Associate Professor of Sociology. This essay is part of an on-going program of research on the theoretical foundations of pessimist arguments about the role of technology in relation to humanistic values in modern society. The writer is carrying out this program in his capacity as research associate at the Harvard Program of Technology and Society and as associated research fellow at the Educational Policy Research Center (EPRC) at Syracuse University. Professor Stanley acknowledges his thanks to Benjamin Nelson for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

1 This argument is presented in detail in my "Social Development as a Normative Concept" (1967).

2 The causes of the transition to a technicist attitude toward such matters as literacy remains an inadequately articulated chapter in historical sociology. I have explored this matter in Stanley (1972a, 1972b).

3 The sociology of knowledge would have some interesting things to say about the implied contrast here of two social origins of efforts in literacy training. The "medical" approach is appropriate for literacy specialists who come out of the mission field. Until very recently missionaries of course saw themselves as bringing enlightenment, civilization, and salvation to those without these. Freire's orientation, on the contrary, is appropriate to the social outlook of rising ex-colonials developing a revolutionary consciousness of the world influence of imperialism.

4 The limitation on aspirations inherent in the fact that any imaginable solution of existing conditions of deprivation can only be replaced by new experiences of deprivation is explored in my "Structures of Doubt: A Conceptual Study in the Sociology of Change" (1972c).

5 Science fiction writers have begun treating "new man" literacy notions. An especially interesting example is James Gunn's The Joy Makers (1961).

6 The obscuring of the original significance of the concepts of anomie and alienation by way of the tendencies of American social science toward psychological reductionism is documented by John Horton (1964).

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# THE CHANGERS: A NEW BREED OF ADULT EDUCATOR

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"China is history," he said, "not paradise! Cultural revolution is the most important event of the 20th century. Revolutionary development reaches a new peak with the example of China: it marks the first time that not only the supra and infra structures of a social system, but also the interstructure with the people, have been radically transformed and humanized."

Paulo Freire is a committed teacher. He is also one of the outstanding political philosophers and educators in the world today.

During a weekend visit in March, 1972 to Syracuse University, he spoke of his current concerns. "Many workers," he stated, "have gotten, or are getting a ruling class consciousness. They are losing a worker's consciousness to the extent that they look down on their fellow workers who are foreign. During a research project in Paris, being carried out with IRFED,* I told an Algerian automobile factory worker that his enemies were not his French counterparts but rather the owners of the factory. He said, 'Maybe they are not our enemies but they are the ones who kick our asses.' Thus, the French worker-- like many other workers around the globe--despises those who are different even though they are of the same class."

"What about students?" somebody asked during one of the seminars at Syracuse. "Students are not a class," he responded, "although they are very important intermediaries. Of course, many students are also petit bourgeois. And others, though conscious of the facts of history do nothing. Consciousness, after all, does not change history; action does. Nevertheless, consciousness at least forces you to see history as reality."

This brief selection from personal notes gives an impression of the man's clarity and political commitment. He is constantly repeating certain basic themes: "An individual is not conscious if he has no cultural or class identity." "To be liberated is to be aware." "Cultural action begins with the process of becoming aware."

Paulo Freire, a philosopher-politician-educator, aims to change individuals, to open their eyes to their own cultural reality. This is Freire's purpose, the base to his teaching objectives, and a clue to his literacy techniques. It is his objective--adult change--that fascinates as much as his viewpoints and practice. He is one of many educators today who deliberately set out to bring about self-perpetual changes prior to behavioral changes. His innovative approach and Christian-Marxist objectives are what differentiate him from other outstanding educators who work to bring about psychological change.

Some educators affect their students, or listeners, more radically than others. These educators usually have developed a psychological or psychosocial technique for catalyzing major individual transformations. I call these educators "the changers" because they deliberately set out before all else to change perception, attitude, or belief. The changers may be distinguished from "change agents" in that the latter primarily promote changes in adult habits through the transfer of knowledge and skills concerning new techniques. Change agents, of course, change minds, but they start with "things" or "events" first. The changers, on the other hand, begin with the conscious mind and provoke new self-perceptions and attitudes that then influence behavior.

Educative changers are a mixed breed and may be found in all walks of life, including schools, but they tend to congregate in programs for achievement motivation, sensitivity training, and psychotherapy, as well as in those for political action and cultural awareness. They represent a new trend. To significantly change an individual's mind in one particular facet, they suggest, will alter his whole way of being. Their subject-matter is the self and the self's environment.

Freire, for example, thinks of adult change as a re-emergence or rebirth. David C. McClelland, in contrast, aims to intensify the need for achievement. For Carl Rogers, change means an increased sense of personal authority, self-direction, and cooperative ability. Psychologists, Dollard and Miller among others, consider change to be an unlearning of neurotic behavior and a learning to label fears, anger, and dependence as steps toward trying out responsible action.

What causes a redefinition of self in society? According to various writers, self-redefinition results from: re-socialization[1], self-direction[2], reorganization of "affectively toned associative networks," re-emergence[4], the re-learning of drives[5], identity turning points[6], critical events[7], critical periods[8], situational changes[9], a relinquishing of part of the self[10], changes in intrapsychic processes[11], self-concept modification[12]. Nevertheless, despite numerous views as to the causes of adult change, little exists that might be called a theory.[13]

## Adult Change and Social Change

This discussion is concerned with adult change and its relationships to social change. The political philosophy-of-education questions raised by Freire's position will be touched on briefly toward the conclusion. The effectiveness and generalizability of his particular approach (and technique) are not at issue.

Various educators view adult change differently and their differing objectives and methods for implementing such change contrast one with another. Is change an inculcating of automatic habits? Or is it an emotional change? A reorganization of attitudes? A cognitive reconstruction? A rebirth?

Freire uses strikingly different approaches to teaching the individual than does, for example, McClelland. Whereas Freire authentically dialogues to awaken the consciousness of the individual to his cultural and class reality, McClelland trains the individual psychologically to accelerate economic development by enhancing his need for achievement. Both of them, in their different ways, strive to alter self-perception and motivation. The distinctive aims (and population groups) that Freire and McClelland work with relate to differing notions about social change.

## The Ends and Methods of Adult Change

The ends of education programs, Freire knows, begin and are projected from within social contexts. Accordingly, an established system seeks to promote self-realization only in terms of majority-culture social adjustment and economic improvement. Minority culture programs often pursue the same ends, but not all of them. There are a growing number of programs that operate to promote cultural identity and socio-political change.

The differing aims and populations that "changers" work with determine, to a great extent, the probable expressions of change that may result. Consequently, the purposes, as well as the methods, processes, and degrees of change merit a fresh look.

Most cognitive-affective-attitudinal programs for adult change seek to enhance social adjustment or economic advancement, including the psychomotor, conditioning, vocational, and other physical skill improvement programs implemented within and for the maintenance of social stability. These programs assist the advance of technological change and are usually not concerned with socio-political change. Contemporaneously, there exist programs which advocate and pursue the implanting of cultural identity and the cultivation of socio-political change. The following categorizes several different types of programs under two separate headings:

Psychological Change for Social Adjustment and Social-Structure Maintenance:

1. University and Cooperative Extension Programs
2. Achievement Motivation and Corporate Promotion
3. Sensitivity training and Organizational Development
4. Therapy (individual or group)
5. ABE and Immigration programs

Psychological Change for Cultural Identity and Social-Structure Reconstruction:

1. Cultural-action literacy programs
2. Consciousness "liberation" movements
3. Community political action programs

4. Political "self-renewal" causes

(This categorization is not meant to be exhaustive or 100% limiting. More properly, it attempts to clarify certain distinctions that can be made generally regarding the social objectives of educational efforts aimed at adult change.)

The methods that the "changers" use to foster personal reconstruction differ considerably. Their teaching, however, shares in common a psychological approach, i.e., it shuns persuasion via chemicals or coercion. (Armed Forces programs as well as brain psychiatry, brainwashing, and LSD experiments are thus excluded from this discussion.) The methods are often as distinct as the men who apply them. Authentic dialogue, for instance, contrasts, as noted, with achievement-related fantasizing and goal-setting, as both of these techniques differ from Janovian "primal screaming." The many different methods all aim, nevertheless, to get the individual to change his mind and his self-perception.

## The Process and Degree of Adult Change

Situational learning, needless to say, is not always purposive: some individuals, when spurred to learn, simply "turn off"; others react by maintaining their old ways of being. Adults only change if they learn (consciously or unconsciously). They may be pushed to learn by external circumstances, social conflict, and personal crisis, or be sparked to learn, as underlined in this discussion, by self-concept-challenging education. When they learn in terms of self-perception rather than manually or intellectually, the process differs in being of greater impact on former identity.

The learning process that takes place during an adult's self-realization and self-affirmation mainly involves understanding. The individual learns new thought patterns, emotional responses, interactive abilities. Consciousness is heightened, associative networks are rearranged, the cognitive or affective tension and stress are increased to the point where the individual has a series of insights ( or small explosions, as the late Fritz Perls put it) and then experiences a new sense of clarity, confidence, and self-purpose. (This process, of course, happens to a lesser or greater degree depending on the individual, his environment, and his current perception of self within it.)

The degree to which adults change is a fascinating topic of study in itself. On an imaginary change-continuum, adults can move from slight personality or perceptual modifications all the way to major self-image and identity changes. The degree of change depends on numerous and complex factors, everything from the teacher and the individual's personality, attitudes, inner conflicts and social status to the environment.

The degree of change also depends to some extent on the kind of change an adult undergoes.

## Differing Responses to Critical Experience and Intensive Adult Education

There appear to be three differing expressions of transformation that adults experience as a result of critical experiences including that of intensive adult-change programs. These three expressions of change can be subsumed under the two above-mentioned headings: a) psychological change for social adjustment and social-structure maintenance, b) psychological change for cultural identity and social-structure reconstruction.

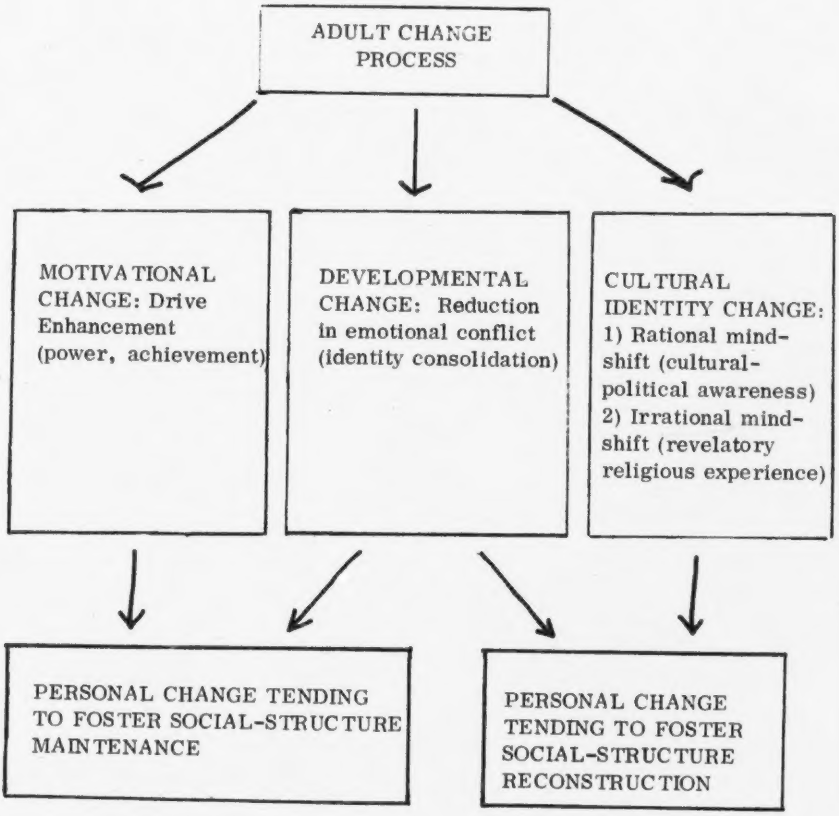
One expression of adult change (developmental change) involves an individual's maturing within the framework of his former psychologically hampered personality. Fears, angers, and feelings of dependency are eliminated or reduced. Emotional, instrumental, and other responses are improved; the individual is "cured" of exaggerated feelings of guilt and insecurity. Another expression of change (motivational change) resembles the first; it is related to drives and motivation. The individual experiences a focusing of his drives in accord with a revitalized need for affiliation, power, or achievement. A third expression of change (cultural identity change) differs in that the change-experience entails an even more radical redefinition of self in society. This redefinition is variously referred to as a rebirth, liberation, conversion, mind-shift, alternation, re-emergence. This mind-shift may be either non-rational (revelatory), such as a religious experience, or it may be rational (logical) in that it involves a political or cultural consciousness of self in society.

Freire's aim, for example, is to demythologize and revolutionize the individual's reflection and action in the world by emphasizing critical consciousness of the facts regarding ownership, labor, and the individual's class background. Such transformation can only occur by way of a transformation of the individual. Consequently, though Freire's ultimate objective is action education, he must first concern himself with getting the individual to connect the names of things and processes with personal reality. Thus, teaching men to read and write is no longer an inconsequential matter of ba, be, bi, bo, bu, of memorizing an alienated word, but a different apprenticeship in naming the world. Not an irrational or religious conversion, but a rational, conscious mind-shift is what Freire seeks to provoke. By elimination of an individual's "reality gap," Freire hopes to spur him to greater and more culturally meaningful intentionality in his life. A flow-chart traces these four types of adult change (See p. 60).

## The Social Meaning of Adult Change

The social purpose of David C. McClelland's achievement-motivation adult-change programs is to accelerate the adult so that he produces

OUTCOMES OF ADULT CHANGE


ADULT CHANGE PROCESS
MOTIVATIONAL CHANGE: Drive Enhancement (power, achievement)
DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE: Reduction in emotional conflict (identity consolidation)
CULTURAL IDENTITY CHANGE: 1) Rational mind-shift (cultural-political awareness) 2) Irrational mind-shift (revelatory religious experience)
PERSONAL CHANGE TENDING TO FOSTER SOCIAL-STRUCTURE MAINTENANCE
PERSONAL CHANGE TENDING TO FOSTER SOCIAL-STRUCTURE RECONSTRUCTION

more, succeeds better and, thereby, contributes to the economic development of his country. Therapy's social purpose generally tends to be to help people learn to cope with life and adjust to the social norms.

Paulo Freire will have none of either. He believes that man is oppressed by values, attitudes, and goals that are not of his own making, nor in agreement necessarily with his place and property in society. His admiration for the women's liberation movement in the United States underscores his concern with radical value changes in society. In Ivan Illich's expression, he "celebrates awareness."

What Freire keeps repeating--as he did during his seminars at Syracuse University in March, 1972--is that there is no value-neutral literacy program; there is no culturally or politically neutral education program. Thus, the task of the adult educator is to change the consciousness of the individual toward his cultural and class reality. And this should be true at every level--from ABE and literacy training to graduate study in the university. Everything else is "socialization" in the sense of conformity to the majority culture.

Essentially, individuals need to conceive of themselves anew, be reborn. While at Syracuse, Freire even suggested that he was in need of rebirth because he still harbored middle-class values. A remembered incident from his teaching experiences concerns a rural laborer who approached him at the end of a program to confide: "Now I realize that I also have a culture." (This is the same genre story that he recounts in his articles for the Harvard Educational Review.) His deep concern for the self and social awareness of each individual is a major contributing factor to his power as an educator. Furthermore, his philosophy makes sense to many countries of the Third World and to minority cultures, as well as youth, who are oppressed within technologically advanced countries (and I make a point of adding youth, as Richard Schaull does in his introduction to Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Despite this seeming reservation as to the population that Freire appeals to most, I think that his emphasis on the absence of value-neutrality in adult education programs forces a reconsideration of the assumed purposes of adult education and the role of its teachers and leaders.

There are, of course, many who take issue with Freire for different reasons (see herein the articles by William S. Griffith and Manfred Stanley). Griffith tells us that Freire has nothing new to teach us. Stanley claims that the definition of literacy as "awareness that men can make their own world" is "philosophically an insufficiently explicated legitimation of a revolutionary oriented literacy training." These positions present the other side of the coin. Stanley, in particular, poses some interesting questions: "To what extent should educative practices be uncritically subordinate to the central values of...larger (institutional) environments?" "To what extent would the educative process be deliberately designed to counteract...the dominant values of the larger environment?" "What is the proper relationship between education and social criticism?"

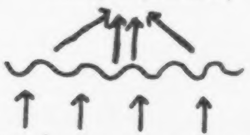
## A Review of Three Expressions of Adult Change

To come to grips with such thorny questions, a review of adult change and change outcomes may prove helpful. For brevity, only two main thrusts of transformation are considered: motivation and mind-shift--the refocusing of drives and the alternation of ways of seeing and acting.

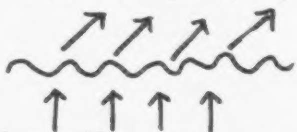
In critical educational experiences that spark significant change, some individuals realize a new sense of wholeness, of communication with others, of direction with respect to specific goals. They become more active in their life pursuits and more efficient (in the best sense of the word) in their actions. Others experience an "eye-opening," a self-transformation, a new identity. They become aware either culturally, politically, religiously, or sexually for "the first time." Their lives are, in other words, brought into new perspective. This conversional, awakening, or liberating experience results in a personal reconstruction that arises out of a refocusing of energies. Both change-experiences are common, and amazing.

The focusing experience resembles that of an individual who gets a new prescription for his glasses and then sees better. The mind-shift compares with an individual whose vision is impaired and then gets glasses for the first time in his life. It is as though, for those whose lives become adjusted or whose goals are clarified, their directional forces-previously fanned out or unconcentrated--are focused by some influence toward a central purpose. For those whose lives become renewed in terms of personal identity, it is as if their perception of self and society--previously a "socialized" or adopted perception--is opened onto an entirely new understanding. C. Vann Woodward says that such individuals had previously a "surrendered identity." The differing processes that lead to change-outcomes may be seen pictorially as charged forces that pass through a magnetic field and are pushed in one of two major redirections.

Changed (focused)



Changed (new perception)



(Those who pass through a critical experience without major change or who are alienated by such change, as well as those who undergo psychomotor or minimal changes are not, of course, dealt with in this discussion.)

The major redirections that take place as a result of the change-experience certainly affect society. At the risk of being simplistic, it may be hypothesized that those who experience adjusted or revitalized drives tend to seek within the status quo for their self-actualization and, thereby, contribute to the existing political and economic structure while promoting the functional maintenance of social norms. On the other hand, those who become aware of injustices, oppression, or indignity in their lives tend to strive to change the existing political, economic, and social structures.

## Conclusion

When seen in this way, the former questions can be placed in a more meaningful context. In countries where the education system is the main instrument for transferring information and knowledge, socializing the masses and promoting societal role identities, there is no question as to whether educative practices are subordinate to the central values of the larger institutional environments. Of course they are. On the other hand, few educators would consider themselves "uncritically"subordinate to these central values. As for the educative process being deliberately designed to counteract the larger environment's dominant values, it seems obvious that the educative process is always concerned with maintaining values--whether they be dominant or not is a technical and temporal question. The question is rather: "To what extent would an adult educator direct his energies toward counteracting dominant values when he judges them wrong or unjust?" The answer depends, of course, on the courage of the educator.

The relationship between man and modern society is more than a sociological concern; it is an organic reality. To assume comfortable roles and develop competitive competencies within them is a limited approach to the meaning of an individual's life. To be able to name the forces that shape and control is not enough; the point is to name, experimentally understand, and act upon the causes and processes that activate these forces. Witnessing the oppressive conditions of a minority group and perceiving these conditions as resulting from institutional and other injustices, an educator might certainly take up the banner Freire proposes.

The question of the proper relationship between education and social criticism remains. There is, of course, a forest of answers and each will choose his own tree to lie under. The point, however, is that there _is_ a relationship and one which would seem to need to be encouraged rather than discouraged. Social criticism is an important function of the individual and helps keep society from atrophy and, hopefully, despotism. The role of education in promoting social criticism is certainly one of the major questions for the individual as well as for policy-making.

The principles and practices of education are in need of constant review,as many young people in particular have insisted during the Sixties and early Seventies. While university professors lecture: the intelligentsia, the richly bored, the quietly desperate and the career-directed minority and "store front" educators are aware that remedial and basic educational content and practice primarily operate to make cultural, political, and racial minorities into "manpower" workers, or merely to assist them with coping mechanisms. It is not surprising, then, that some educators look to self-perceptual education and action-for-institutional-change as the only realistic alternatives. As this awareness becomes more wide-spread, the promotion of adult change and social criticism may come to be considered as two of the most important functions of the adult educator in his society. This, in milder form and with a different ideology than Freire, is what John Gardner is saying in his Self-Renewal. The future must certainly be shaped by whether adult educators choose in the present to promote awareness among their participants--and with each other--regarding the importance of democratic control of technology and political systems.

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# PAULO FREIRE: UTOPIAN PERSPECTIVE ON LITERACY EDUCATION FOR REVOLUTION

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Forty years ago George S. Counts asked, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*[1] He questioned whether the function of education should be to transmit the culture to the untutored or to prepare them to work to create a society which would have fewer imperfections than the one in which they lived. Preparing students to adapt themselves to a static conception of their society seemed to Counts far less desirable than increasing the ability of the students to recognize the flaws in their society and to work to eliminate them.

Today Paulo Freire preaches a gospel of political revolution which is to serve as the motivating principle of his pedagogy. It will enable the poor and the dispossessed to learn and work in concert under the inspired leadership of disenchanted members of the upper classes who emerge in some spontaneous and unpredictable way. Together they will overthrow the existing oppressive government and replace it with a utopian form of governance which will serve the poor and lovingly restrain their former oppressors.[2]

The purposes of this critique are to evaluate *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* from an adult educator's perspective in an effort to determine whether it is a revolutionary approach to literacy education in fact as well as in its author's intention; to evaluate the soundness of the plan for revolution which is to result from the literacy program, and to offer an explanation for the generally enthusiastic reception this book has received.

## The "Revolutionary" Educational Process

Freire's criticisms of education, based primarily on his assumptions about the relationship between teachers and students, are neither new nor particularly useful in bringing about an improvement in the process. He asserts that education is suffering from "narration sickness"[3] because the teacher, in the role of a narrating subject, presents content to students, serving as patient listening objects, with the result that the material to be learned becomes "lifeless and petrified."[4] John Dewey called for the improvement of pedagogy by involving the learners in the process of seeking solutions to practical problems they faced. However, Dewey did not seem to believe that a political revolution would be the most valuable end education should serve. Although Dewey advocated a pedagogical approach to insure that students would become active subjects in their own learning, he did not counsel political revolution as the universal motivating force to stimulate the learning.

Countless adult educators whose works are less well known, and apparently unknown to Freire, have expressed the same ideas regarding the active participation of learners in their own education and have set forth ideas for implementing the approach with both more rigor and greater humility than the author of Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Although Freire does not point out that his criticisms regarding conventional education are by no means new, the validity of his analysis of the instructional problem can scarcely be denied.

There is no evidence in Pedagogy of the Oppressed that Freire was interested in examining the literature of adult education research before presenting his pedagogy. Despite Freire's impassioned preaching on the topic, his notions about the necessity for making the student an active, questioning, thinking participant in the formal education process, as stated above, are neither new nor revolutionary. What would be revolutionary would be a practical method for insuring that those who are engaged in teaching would accept the advice and utilize the approaches that have been developed and advocated by systematic scholars in the field of adult education.

Freire joins the ranks of Jack R. Gibb, J. Roby Kidd, Jacob W. Getzels, Harry L. Miller, Malcolm S. Knowles[5] and just about every other adult educator who has ever attempted to describe the conditions which are most conducive to adult learning when he urges that adult literacy students be actively involved in their own learning. Further, Freire insists, as many other adult educators have done previously, that the adult learner must pursue his learning in the context of problem analysis and solution - "problematizing," as the process is labeled in Freire's argot.[6] His ideas on these matters are in harmony with the positions advanced by adult educators, but he appears either to be unacquainted or unconcerned with this literature.

## The "Banking" Conception of Education

Freire draws an analogy between education as he claims it is practiced and banking. He states that education is

> an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education in which the scope of the action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits.[7]

In more up-to-date language, which reflects a sophistication in the conceptualization of the process of learning, Freire might have evaluated the practices of teachers today in that they continue to emphasize educational objectives at the level of simple recall or comprehension as these levels have been defined in the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives Handbook I, Cognitive Domain.[8] Nearly twenty years ago the authors of the Taxonomy sought to assist teachers to consider cognitive educational objectives at the levels of application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, each of which requires the active interaction of the learner with the ideas rather than just the words used in the passages he reads.

Literacy curriculum materials are criticized with some justification by Freire, who offers a solution to the problem of inappropriate curricula. He suggests that edited transcriptions of the conversations of a group of students be used as texts for reading. In comparing a text made of transcriptions of students' conversations with the kinds of texts generally written by specialist authors of reading lessons, he observes that "only someone with very pronounced lack of taste or a lamentable scientific incompetency would choose the specialists' texts."[9] The suggestion of developing texts from the life experiences and conversations of the illiterate students would likely be supported by most adult educators, and if the editing were done painstakingly it is not unreasonable to assume that reading specialists would endorse this approach also.

## Functions of Adult Literacy Education

Freire has observed in Brazil, Chile, and other nations that the act of teaching individuals to read and write does not simultaneously transform their environment. He noted that if there are not enough jobs for persons able to read and write, efforts directed toward making others literate can scarcely be expected to create new jobs. A cynic might observe that the federally funded adult basic education programs in the United States provided either full-time or part-time jobs for 32,887 teachers, counselors, local and state supervisors, and other supporting personnel at the local and state levels in fiscal 1970 regardless of the amount of student learning which was facilitated. Such work is apparently not alleviating the employment problems of the 535,613 adults who were enrolled in the programs to a significant extent.

Government sponsored adult literacy programs are a popular target for social critics for several reasons: first, they are typically designed to enable individuals from the lower socio-economic classes to adapt to the demands of our technological society without raising their hopes that they might be able to exert any influence on the nature of that society; second, such programs characteristically are carried on by volunteer teachers, public school teachers who are working overtime to earn a few extra dollars, and other part-time instructors whose preparation to teach adults is sketchy at best and whose work is supervised by local and state level career administrators whose area of academic specialization and career expectations are not in the administration of adult literacy programs. Finally, representatives of the sponsoring institutions may encourage the development of unrealistic expectations concerning both the rate of academic progress and the employment opportunities for prospective students. Freire has exposed the manipulative aspects of some governmentally funded literacy programs which he feels have been designed primarily to control the poor and to convince them that all of their troubles are the result of their own inadequacies.

## Characteristics of Adult Literacy Programs

It cannot be denied that adult literacy programs frequently exhibit many of the hallmarks of the oppressive pedagogy associated with elementary and secondary school teaching and which seeks only to convey content instead of to educate the students. In contrast to the practice of involving the learner in the process of defining the problem, identifying objectives, designing the curriculum, and evaluating the outcomes, all of which have been advocated by the authors of the standard adult education textbooks for decades, many teachers focus not on the behavior of the student, but on delivering a given body of subject matter to a passive group of learners. An appreciable amount of the literacy instruction in the United States is still carried on at the levels of simple recall and comprehension (as these terms are defined in the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives). Although it is likely that the overwhelming majority of tests used in these programs are designed only to measure simple recall and comprehension, the nature of instruction and testing at the higher cognitive levels has been described quite adequately. Efforts have also been made by progressive teachers for decades to conduct education using the full range of levels.

An examination of literacy programs in the United States would reveal a wider range of educational objectives than Freire has identified in his critique of this kind of effort. Certainly it is true that in some programs the entire instructional procedure resembles the banking concept of education which Freire decried. On the other hand, an undetermined number of literacy teachers are more concerned with increasing their students' coping skills than with preparing them to pass tests of simple recall or to accommodate passively to the demands of their society. Coping skills are conceived as analytical and synthetic abilities which enable students to examine the facts of a problem situation, identify the likely consequences of alternative actions, and finally select and implement the final alternative. Such instruction is clearly not intended to produce passive consumers of the ideas and decisions of a ruling elite, and when the instruction is carried out successfully the graduates of these programs become active, inquiring individuals rather than passive fatalists.

Although the teaching of coping skills has not yet become a common characteristic of adult literacy programs in the United States, it would be erroneous to assume that the development of such skills is not a major objective of an appreciable and increasing number of these programs. The concern for teaching coping skills in basic education classes is of relatively recent origin and has not, as yet, been incorporated into the most widely used curricular materials. Further, only a relatively small percentage of the teachers have themselves been taught methods of developing such skills. Nevertheless, their teaching has become an integral part of some programs and apparently is being accepted as legitimate and desirable in an increasing number of programs. This orderly process of diffusion occurs slowly, but the important fact to be considered is that bureaucratic structure of education continues to evolve and that ideas are gradually processed by the system.

Teachers' for adult literacy programs have typically not had special training in the field of adult education, nor are they likely to think of themselves as adult educators. The fact that they may be poorly informed about the guidelines for teaching adults which abound in the literature is not evidence that the conceptualizations found in the adult education literature are either inadequate or inappropriate guides to action. The teachers' lack of academic preparation and their non-application of the existing guidelines may only indicate their unfamiliarity with the literature of the field. If such non-adoption of adult education approaches to instruction can be traced to the teachers' lack of knowledge of the literature, then there is little reason for believing that yet another book setting forth either a new pedagogy or an old pedagogy under a new name is likely to influence educational practice appreciably, however appealing it may appear to contemporary critics of the educational system. Perhaps, however, Freire's writing style, plus the linking of his adult pedagogy to revolution and the freeing of the oppressed will attract a larger number of readers than have been drawn to the more rationalistic literature produced by scholars in adult education.

In Freire's schema the primary purpose of literacy training is not to produce the intrinsic satisfactions which may result from having learned to read and write; neither is the central purpose to yield the extrinsic satisfactions which may result from the effective use of these skills in satisfying the requirements of the society in which the students live. Instead, the justification for conducting literacy training programs is the preparation of the learners to participate in the revolution to overthrow the oppressive elites. Therefore, to assess the soundness of the entire schema it is necessary to consider the adequacy of the explanations of the components of the revolution and the internal consistency of the revolutionary program. This program is to follow the literacy training and is posed by Freire as the justification for that training.

## The Process of Revolution

Freire stresses that the central idea of the revolution is dialogue between persons of opposing viewpoints, at least whenever it appears that this process will bring about a synthesis satisfactory to the individual who has accepted the idea that there must be a revolution to take away the power of the ruling elites. However, dialogue is regarded as inappropriate when it seems likely that the weaker party cannot be converted. Further, Freire leaves little question regarding his willingness to control and restrict the freedom of those who cannot see the superiority of his system. In justifying his denial of a right to engage in dialogue to the oppressive elites, Freire states:

> Once a popular revolution has come to power, the fact that the new power has the ethical duty to repress any attempt to restore the old oppressive power by no means signifies that the revolution is contradicting its dialogical character. Dialogue between the former oppressors and the oppressed as antagonistic classes was not possible before the revolution; it continues to be impossible afterward.[10]

The freedom to disagree with the new ruling group, following the revolution, is to be restricted to those who have passed some undefined loyalty test. After the revolution, actions which may seem hostile to the governing group are not to be dealt with through dialogue. Instead, those who propose anything other than the "true gospel" are to be repressed by the new leaders using whatever means are necessary.

Although it may appear to the casual reader that Freire is willing to allow the free expression of opinions and that he is willing to rely on the logic of his arguments and his skill in the use of dialogue to deal with those who may disagree with and resist him, the examination of his attitude toward the training of organizers and his approval of the approach of Guevara lays that notion to rest. In discussing the way the revolutionary leaders must deal with their followers, he says, "But they [the leaders] must always mistrust the ambiguity of oppressed men, mistrust the 'oppressor' housed in the latter. Accordingly, when Guevara exhorts the revolutionary to be always mistrustful, he is not disregarding the fundamental condition of the theory of dialogical action. He is merely being a realist..."[11]

Freire quotes approvingly the advice given by Guevara to El Patojo, a young Guatemaltecan leaving Cuba to engage in guerilla activity in his own country:

> Mistrust: at the beginning, do not trust your own shadow, never trust friendly peasants, informers, guides or contact men. Do not trust anything or anybody until a zone is completely liberated.[12]

In this case the word "liberated" may be defined as placed under the control of the revolutionary leader. "Mistrust" is the key word to describe the attitude of the leaders of the revolution toward all those with whom they must work. Whether such an attitude constitutes an effective way of building a better society for all mankind is open to doubt. It is clearly antithetical to the prevailing ideology of adult education.

Once an individual has become a member of the revolutionary group, he is not to be permitted to withdraw. Freire endorses the idea of punishing the deserter in order to preserve the cohesion and "discipline" of the group.[13] It seems likely that "discipline" refers to acceptance of or submission to authority and control rather than to self-control or a commitment to engage in the dialectic when faced with a need to take action.

And although Freire warns against the danger of the revolutionaries becoming corrupted into the behavior and thought patterns of their former oppressors, the means he advocates for the forcible overthrow of the oppressive regime and for the handling of the former oppressors seem conducive to the replacement of one oppressive regime by another. Freedom is to be shared with the true believers. All others are to be bridled. The critical determination which some leader must make somehow is that of discriminating between those who are sympathetic to the revolution and those who oppose it. Despite Freire's assertion that revolutionary action must be "human, empathetic, loving, communicative and humble, in order to be liberating," it is nevertheless clear that he approves of violent action to check those who are not sympathetic to the revolution.[14]

Freire's description of a radical committed to human liberation is a man who "is not afraid to confront, to listen, to see the world unveiled. He is not afraid to meet the people or to enter into dialogue with them."[15] However, "the people" does not include any of the "oppressors" who are to be overthrown. And although dialogue is proposed as the way of avoiding error, Freire's radical would not accept the notion that dialogue with the "oppressors" could be useful. So despite the professed openness to learning through dialogue, Freire's ideal radical would not tolerate the views of those who were not ready to accept the conclusion that revolution is essential. It is at this point that Freire's pedagogy parts company with democratic ideals and all educational philosophies which seek to arrive at truth by permitting the free expression of error as a means of exposing its limitations.

Rational men might be expected to accept the notion that they should welcome or at least tolerate the views of others as well as to keep an open mind to ideas that challenge tradition and established institutions because of a belief that there is always more to learn and more perspectives on a given problem or proposition than they have already perceived. Such is not Freire's position. While he advocates dialogue between the self-discovered leaders and those who are to be the self-discovered followers, such open discussion is to be denied the opponents of the revolution. This situation allows for a considerable amount of confusion concerning when dialogue is to be pursued and when efforts are to be directed toward restraining the actions of those who disagree with the revolutionary leadership. It is at the point of silencing dissent that Freire's pedagogy seems most oppressive.

Further, since the test of the radical leader is his acceptance by the people, one might assume that at least once in a while a self-appointed leader would arise with base motives and an ability to attract followers and retain their loyalty. When it comes to the task of distinguishing between the "authentic" leaders and the "inauthentic" leaders Freire offers no guidance except to indicate that eventually the followers will end up with the appropriate leader through the process of dialogue. Such a corrective mechanism scarcely seems compatible with the advocacy of the silencing of dissent.

Freire considers freedom and authority briefly, by saying that authentic authority is affirmed through delegation or in sympathetic adherence. In his explanation of this relationship he notes that "authority can avoid conflict with freedom only if it is 'freedom become authority'."[16] His attempted clarification of the relationship between freedom and authority is ineffectual partly because he states and restates the same idea in the same words. His use of the modifier "true" with authority and freedom does not serve to clarify these concepts and instead suggests that he regards his ideas in this area as worthy of acceptance on the basis of his sincerity alone and not on the basis of a logical argument.[17] Other authors have used the term legitimate authority as a way of distinguishing between a leader's ascribed power to control his subordinates and the followers' willing acceptance of his right to direct their actions. Apparently legitimate or "true" authority in Freire's view exists only when the members of the lowest socioeconomic groups have freely selected all of the leaders, in which case freedom is exercised by choosing to follow their leader's instructions.

## Limitations of the Dichotomizing Analytical Process

Freire's rhetoric is designed to emphasize a thesis-antithesis approach to both the definition of problems and to the identification of solutions for those problems. Unfortunately, this perspective of reality tends to oversimplify both problems and solutions by its inability to recognize other than two opposing views on any problem and its insistence upon dichotomizing the positions which may be taken with regard to its solution. For example, in his essay "Cultural Action and Conscientization," Freire rather simplistically compares the position of the oppressors on the right with the enlightened revolutionaries:

> The Right in its rigidity prefers the dead to the living; the static to the dynamic; the future as a repetition of the past rather than as a creative venture; pathological forms of love rather than real [?] love; frigid schematicization rather than emotion of living; gregariousness rather than authentic [?] living together; organization men rather than men who organize; imposed myths rather than incarnated values; directives rather than creative and communicative language; and slogans rather than challenges.[18]

This quotation, which reflects the overgeneralizations and oversimplifications characteristic of a political campaign speech, is consistent with the author's obsession with the dialectic perspective as well as his apparent willingness to rely upon emotionally-laden and vaguely defined terms. Freire sees only good guys and bad guys. He acknowledges no middle ground.

Freire's own professional life since 1959 presents a pattern of sponsorship by the most favored segments of society, universities, international organizations, and churches, a pattern which may present an incongruous answer to his question: "What could be more important than to live and work with the oppressed, with the 'rejects of life,' with the 'wretched of the earth?' In this communion, the revolutionary leaders should find not only their raison d'etre but a motive for rejoicing."[19] Evidently the implementation of the revolution will require the contributions of various kinds of leaders beyond those identified by Freire.

Emergence and "Rebirth" of Revolutionary Leaders

If, then, Freire is not himself to lead the revolution, some provision must be made for the identification of those who are to lead. On this point Freire does not provide specific information, presenting instead a somewhat vague description of the way the revolutionary leadership will emerge:

> Usually this leadership group is made up of men who in one way or another have belonged to the social strata of the dominators. At a certain point in their existential experience [?], under certain historical conditions, these men renounce the class to which they belong and join the oppressed, in an act of true solidarity (or so one would hope). Whether or not this adherence results from a scientific analysis of reality, it represents (when authentic) an act of love and true commitment.[20]

These parenthetical phrases might alert readers to Freire in anticipation that some men will renounce their class and join the oppressed out of motives other than love and true commitment. Since the oppressed may be duped by cunning charlatans it would seem necessary to provide criteria for differentiating between authentic and inauthentic leaders. Also, if this explanation deals with the usual source of leaders, it might be reasonable to assume that the usual sources would also be identified. They are not. Freire's solution to the problem of dealing with inauthentic leaders is to depend on the oppressed individuals, who were previously described as not meriting trust, to expose these inauthentic leaders through the practice of the dialectic. Such an analysis is incomplete because it does not reflect a knowledge of history, a mastery of political science, or an administrator's grasp of organizational phenomena.

Freire admits his lack of comprehension of the specific mechanism through which his revolutionary goals will be achieved. He uses the term "cultural synthesis" to describe the process through which the contradictions between the world view of the leaders and the world views of the people are resolved:

> Instead of following predetermined plans, leaders and people, mutually identified, together create the guidelines of their action. In this synthesis, leaders and people are somehow reborn in new knowledge and new action. Knowledge of the alienated culture leads to transforming action resulting in

> a culture which is being freed from alienation. The more sophisticated knowledge of the leaders is remade in the empirical knowledge of the people, while the latter is refined by the former.[21]

Freire can scarcely be accused by his readers of spending an excess of time analyzing and describing the process by which the miraculous transformation of society will be initiated. His sketchy description of the emergence of the leaders and the "rebirth" of both the leaders and the people does not offer much evidence that he has thought through the practical aspects of beginning the overthrow of the oppressors and their replacement by self-discovered saviors of the poor.

Freire's explanation of how leaders are to emerge is inconsistent with his position on the training of revolutionaries. On the one hand he appears to approve of the training of guerilla leaders in Cuba for export. But, on the other hand, he appears to oppose programs for the training of leaders, saying that:

> the so-called leadership training courses which are (although carried out without any such intention by many of their organizers) in the last analysis alienating. These courses are based on the naive assumption that one can promote the community by training its leaders - as if it were the parts that promote the whole and not the whole, which in being promoted, promotes the parts... As soon as they complete the course and return to the community, with resources they did not formerly possess, they either use these resources to control the submerged and dominated consciousness of their comrades, or they become strangers in their own communities and their former leadership position is thus threatened.[22]

Again, Freire's apparent incapacity to conceive of anything but dichotomous situations leads to rhetoric which may persuade some readers, but it is not a particularly thorough analysis of the complexity of the reality of human experience. So the reader is left with the impression that Freire regarded Guevara's international expeditions to foment revolution and to train leaders as desirable and consistent with his notion of how the revolution should proceed, while at the same time he identified the notion of training leaders as alienating. On this point Freire has apparently provided both a thesis and an antithesis; he leaves the reader to perform the synthesis.

## Community Development as a Process of Repression

Community development efforts are also seen by Freire as a part of the repressive actions of the ruling elite. He describes the process and its deficiencies as follows:

> In 'community development' projects the more a region or area is broken down into 'local communities' without the study of these communities both as totalities in themselves

> and as parts of another totality (the area, region, and so forth) - which in its turn is part of a still larger totality (the nation, as part of the continental totality) - the more alienation is intensified. And the more alienated people are, the easier it is to divide them and keep them divided. These focalized forms of action, by intensifying the focalized way of life of the oppressed (especially in rural areas), hamper the oppressed from perceiving reality critically and keep them isolated from the problems of oppressed men in other areas.[23]

Is there, then, any way that community developers might win the approval of Freire for their efforts? Yes, for he offers the following observation regarding the statement just quoted:

> This criticism of course does not apply to actions within a dialectical perspective, based on the understanding of the local community both as a totality in itself and as part of a larger totality. It is directed at those who do not realize that the development of the local community cannot occur except in the total context of which it is a part, in interaction with other parts. This requirement implies the consciousness of unity in diversification, of organization which channels forces in dispersion, and a clear awareness of the necessity to transform reality.[24]

Community development carried on outside of the dialectical perspective is seen by Freire as a form of manipulation of the people by giving them the impression they are being helped when, in his analysis, it is a means of weakening the oppressed still further, isolating them and creating and deepening rifts among them.[25] Such developmental work is seldom perceived as oppressive by the dedicated but naive professionals who are carrying it out, according to Freire.

Unfortunately for those who regard themselves as ethical community developers, Freire never divulges the way in which the dialectical perspective, based on the understanding of the local community both as a totality in itself and as part of a larger totality, is to be developed. One point is clear, however: existing procedures for the preparation of community developers are not doing the job.

The lack of practical guidance for those who are to carry out the revolution is not surprising in a utopian formulation and Freire clearly identifies his approach as utopian.

## The Utopian Perspective

The desire to establish a utopia is probably as old as man himself. There is no scarcity of utopian literature; common themes pervade such schemes. Equality, peace, and a contempt for riches have been characteristic of utopian formulations historically. Marxian analyses of the evils of the capitalistic systems lead to the formulation of reforms based on three unproved assumptions: (1) man's true needs are quite limited and only artificially created needs produce misery; (2) enormous quantities of labor are wasted on the luxuries of the ruling elites; and (3) scientific progress improves production per man, but man's needs do not increase. The abolition of monopolies of property coupled with the establishment of some form of communism are seen as sufficient to eliminate any significant expression of man's antagonistic impulses - the basic cause of evil in society. Freire appears to have accepted all three assumptions.

Freire's chimeric notions combine a disregard of ultimate ends with an uncomplicated analysis of immediate obstacles to the implementation of his plan. The use of "authentic," "real," "true," and "genuine" does little to convince the reader that the author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has a firm grasp of the reality he seeks to reform. The goal which Freire's pedagogy seeks is the establishment of a revolutionary society in which the process of revolution will continue permanently rather than to wane following the overthrow of the ruling elites. What is unclear is the basis for Freire's belief that those he classifies as the oppressed and their leaders will be transformed into virtuous, unselfish persons by the act of overthrowing their oppressors. Unstated assumptions regarding the dynamics of the transmutation or "rebirth" leave the reader with inadequate evidence to evaluate the soundness of the author's scheme.

Over the centuries an untold number of utopians have assumed that with the abolition of monopolies of property and with the establishment of some sort of communism, the antagonistic spirit, which is by definition the cause of evil, would no longer find significant expression in society. Yet the idea awaits effective implementation. What reason is there to believe that Freire's approach is any more likely to succeed?

One might assume that his education and experience would have led him to develop a high level of political sophistication. Freire earned his doctorate at the University of Recife at age thirty-eight and became a professor of the history and philosophy of education at the same university. He served in Brazil as Secretary of Education and General Coordinator of the National Plan of Adult Literacy until 1964, when a military coup made it necessary for him to leave. Moving to Chile he became a professor at the University of Chile and a consultant to the UNESCO Institute of Research and Training in Agrarian Reform. In 1969 he was named a fellow of the Center and a visiting professor at the Center for Studies in Education and Development at Harvard University. Currently he serves as a special consultant to the Office of Education of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. These experiences might have led to a sophisticated understanding of the functioning of national governments and to an appreciation of the disciplined coordination and control required to carry out a successful revolution and to perform essential government functions following the revolution. Pedagogy of the Oppressed does not, however, reflect a level of sophistication commensurate with a high degree of political acumen.

Freire advocates revolution because he believes that evolutionary approaches are inevitably unsuccessful. He states, "Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift".[26] Perhaps it is because he is so thoroughly committed to the notion that revolution is required to overthrow the ruling elites that Pedagogy of the Oppressed is devoted primarily to justifying the revolution rather than to expounding the specific strategies to be used in its implementation.

## The Uncritical Acceptance of the Pedagogy of Revolution

Freire's pedagogy offers neither fresh ideas concerning the methodology of adult education nor practical guidance for implementing the revolution. The literature of adult education contains more complete and systematic guidance for the planning and conducting of programs than can be found in his pedagogy. Further, a plan for a revolution which is dependent upon the spontaneous self-identification of leaders who must subsequently become involved in a process of mutual identification with those whom they will lead scarcely seems practical. Further, the rejection of leader training as alienating provides little indication that the practical problems of organizing a revolution have been considered. Finally, the dogmatic assertion that all training must involve both the leaders and the led in a dialectical situation would seem either to restrict the movement to groups which function on a face-to-face basis or to suggest that the mass media will be used as the vehicle for the "dialogue" between the leader and the led.

The incomplete utopian scheme proposed by Freire has nevertheless found ready acceptance by a surprisingly large number of critics of the American educational system or the American form of government or both. Perhaps all that is needed to win acclaim today is a forceful condemnation of the existing authority structure, a mystical promise of a kind of "rebirth," and an insistence that the lack of a plan for carrying out the revolution and for regulating society afterwards is evidence of the revolutionary's committment to the dialectical method of dealing with problems. Two factors, a widespread disenchantment with public education and the quality of the intellectual leadership on college campuses, may help to explain the uncritical acceptance of this pedagogy.

Freire's criticisms of the banking concept of education cannot be dismissed lightly. While it is true that his call for a pedagogy to develop autonomous, self-directed learners is not new, his espousal of this philosophical position of adult educators in the context of the heightened social consciousness of the times gives his book a popular appeal which is lacking in less polemical adult education literature. Yet an appeal for the redirection of prevailing instructional practices from an exclusive focus on passive recall to an emphasis on the development of the student's analytical and evaluative abilities would have been stronger had Freire demonstrated his own mastery of these abilities rather than to exhibit an unswerving predilection for viewing both problems and solutions from an Hegelian posture.

The undiscriminating acceptance of this rhetoric of revolution may also be an indication of the dysfunctional consequences of the fragmented perceptions of reality found on college faculties. Specialists in each of the social sciences, bound by the concepts and methodologies of their own disciplines, work on research projects in which they need not differentiate between differences which are only statistically significant and those which have both statistical and practical significance. Although each of the disciplines taken singly is insufficient to explain human behavior, specialists within each of them may lose their perspective on the explanatory power of their own discipline through sustained efforts restricted by the boundaries of that discipline. Living with partial explanations may render some academics especially vulnerable to incomplete explanations which lead to conclusions they would like to accept.

Human behavior is influenced simultaneously by more variables than theoreticians or empiricists working within any specialty are prepared to study. Accordingly, the particular disciplinary concepts and perspectives of economists, psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, and other social scientists are of limited practical utility, not because the separate disciplines have imperfect perspectives but because each of these perspectives is limited by necessity. Perhaps, then, it should not be too surprising if those who spend their lives studying behavior from the limited perspective of a single social science are particularly susceptible to single discipline solutions to complex problems put forth by persuasive authors. Administrators and other men and women of affairs may be less likely to be persuaded by grand schemes which reflect simplistic notions of the determinants of human behavior.

In Pedagogy of the Oppressed Freire has restated the faults of a large part of the educational process as it is carried out, endorsing the higher level cognitive objectives without acknowledging that the criticisms and proposals he offers for the improvement of education have already been presented in more sophisticated and rigorous analyses by other authors. Yet there is nothing wrong with restating sound ideas. If the new pedagogy consisted solely of suggestions for improving adult literacy programs, then perhaps couching the approach in revolutionary rhetoric would serve to attract attention and even persuade literacy teachers to adopt a new perspective in their instructional efforts. The coupling of a plea for the improvement of adult education with a call to revolution weakens both appeals. Utopian schemes are attractive to those who want a simplistic solution to the problems of the world. For those who seek to bring about the changes, however, schemes which consist of superficial analyses and which are dependent upon the spontaneous emergence of enlightened authentic leaders acting out of love (who will somehow experience a rebirth together with their followers), is an appeal to an extra-terrestrial intervention which eludes the ratiocination of social scientists.

## Towards the Year 2012

If Freire's presentation of his pedagogy and revolutionary blueprint stimulates adult educators to reflect on their methods and to become more analytical in contemplating the compatibility of the goals they seek with the approaches they use, then the publication of this so-called revolutionary pedagogy will have served a worthwhile purpose. It would be comforting to believe that in another forty years there will be no need for another social critic to ask the question Counts asked forty years ago. However, the uncritical acceptance of the rhetoric of the pedagogy without the analysis of the substance by educators illustrates, more powerfully than Freire may have anticipated, the validity of his criticisms of educational systems which produce graduates whose critical faculties have remained undeveloped.

## FOOTNOTES

1. George S. Counts, Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order? (New York: John Day Co., 1932).

2. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. by Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

3. Ibid., p. 57.

4. Ibid.

5. J. W. Getzels, Learning Theory and Classroom Practice in Adult Education (Syracuse, N.Y.: University College, Syracuse University, 1956). Jack R. Gibbs, "Learning Theory in Adult Education" in Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, edited by Malcolm S. Knowles (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1960). J.R. Kidd, How Adults Learn (New York: Association Press, 1959). Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1970). Harry L. Miller, Teaching and Learning in Adult Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964).

6. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, Monograph Series No. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Educational Review and Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, 1970), p. 18.

7. Pedagogy, p. 58.

8. Benjamin S. Bloom, (ed.), Taxonomy of Educational Objectives the classification of educational goals: Handbook I Cognitive Domain. (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1956).

9. Cultural Action, p. 25.
10. Pedagogy, p. 134.
11. Ibid., p. 169.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 170.
14. Ibid., p. 171.
15. Ibid., pp. 23-24.
16. Ibid., pp. 179-180.
17. Ibid.
18. Cultural Action, p. 44.
19. Pedagogy, p. 128.
20. Ibid., p. 162.
21. Ibid., p. 183.

# PAULO FREIRE: NOTES OF A LOVING CRITIC

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## I.

### Appreciation

In a 1968 commencement address at Cornell, John Gardner suggested that the appropriate stances for young college graduates about to enter upon a world their college years had taught them to radically question, should be those of the "critical lover" and the "loving critic." I find myself in a similar position as I seek to respond to the request of the editor of the present work, to write a critical essay on the work of Paulo Freire. Since the time I became interested in Freire's ideas four years ago, the evidence from both reading and personal experience has borne out his basic theses about education. But now that his ideas have gained some currency beyond a limited circle of cognoscenti, it is perhaps important to take a longer look at what he has proposed.

The task, however, is a difficult one, for such a project carries with it the danger of falling between two stools. One may be reduced to taking cheap shots at Freire, such as the reservations expressed by some critics concerning his ambiguity about revolutionary violence, and in doing so miss entirely the profound implications of his thought for all educational theory and practice. On the other hand, it is possible to mine the resources of, and influence on, his thought,* to accuse him of eclecticism and inconsistency, and thus to engage Freire at the level of his sources rather than at the level at which he presents himself. In either case the upshot is the same: there is no real possibility for the kind of critical dialogue which might enrich the educator and might also enhance Freire's own notions. Instead, I want to offer a loving critique designed to be truly provocative.**

For me, a positive appreciation of Freire must take into account three of his fundamental ideas. First, Freire is to be commended for his refusal to dichotomize action and reflection. For him these are poles on a continuum that cannot be broken up except at the peril of the educational process; indeed, at the peril of culture itself. This refusal sets the context for what Freire calls our "ontological vocation"; to be free, creative Subjects who can separate ourselves from our world in our consciousness, be critical of it, act upon it, and transform it to suit our purposes. The world is not a static, closed order with predetermined results laid down by the powers that be for every action taken by men and women. It is not a Given. It is rather a

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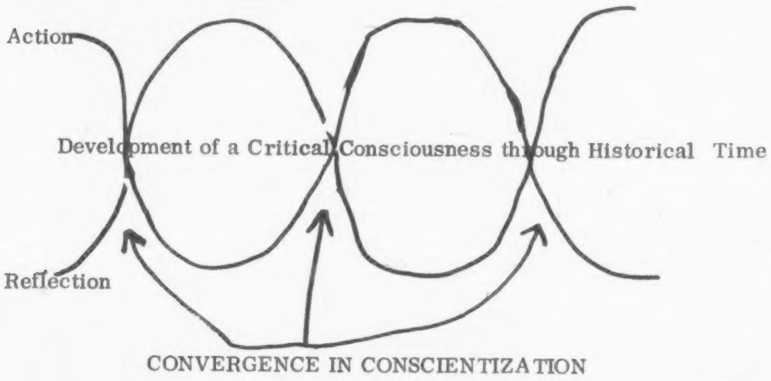
*Sartre and Mournier, Fromm and Althusser, Ortega y Gasset and Mao, Martin Luther King and Che Guevara, Unamuno and Marcuse.
**"Pro-vocare" - "to speak in behalf of"

theater of possibilities and problems to be entertained, thought about, worked on, and solved because they are experienced as "limit situations" rather than "the way things are." Thus, the ontological vocation is one of history-making, creation, and self-assertion, which seeks to unmask the "inevitabilities" of fate, myth, magic, and the given structures. By refusing to dichotomize action and reflection, Freire compels us to realize that their dialogical interaction acts as a two-edged sword against the dangers of abstract theorizing on the one hand and the divinization of the deed on the other.

But Freire makes it clear that the action/reflection dialectic is not some Aristotelian Golden Mean. In the educational context it is a political method. Freire is convinced that in any historical situation in which action/reflection takes place, men and women are fighting to become human. The enemies are the contradictions which contend within us, and between us and our environment, whether social, political, educational, or cultural. To engage in action/reflection is political because the contradictions in the human situation are exposed as precisely that. The foundation of liberation, of our ontological vocation, is the development of a critical consciousness, a way of not only thinking about the world, but also of thinking about how we think. Both sets of data must be acted upon with a bold tentativeness to avoid the danger that the manner of definition may transform contradictions into unsolveable paradoxes.

Freire's understanding of the relationship between action and reflection is something like the following diagram. Here action and reflection are seen as two intertwining lines, situated in the force field of culture. Conscientization is Freire's name for what happens at the various points of convergence along a historical continuum. Both action and reflection, and thus our future, are changed and re-directed as a result of this convergence. Our lived cultural experience acts as a field of force which keeps the action and reflection lines from "flying off the chart," and also keeps the lines from flattening out to form a one-dimensional existence.


Action
Development of a Critical Consciousness through Historical Time
Reflection
CONVERGENCE IN CONSCIENTIZATION

A second premise upon which Freire operates, and one which is equally laudable, is his insistence on the non-neutrality of education. All too often we tend to regard education as the public transmission of neutral bits of information about the world, which can then be used according to the private disposition of the learner. We regard the material as empty of ideological content, similar to a shovel or a pencil. But even the simplest implements of culture reflect an ideology for Freire. For him there is no neutral educational process; it functions in one of two ways. It may be used as an instrument to indoctrinate the younger generation into the values, presuppositions, and logic of the given culture. Or, it becomes the "practice of freedom," the means whereby men and women deal critically with their own reality and transform it to their own ends.

Since culture produces education, the assumptions of the culture are built into the educational process. According to Freire, we are thus faced with a choice. Education may be used as an instrument of transmission (and here one of his best known concepts, the Banking Theory of Education, comes into play), or as a process of transformation. These polarities, instruments vs. process, and transmission vs. transformation, are central to Freire's thought, and they are worth pursuing because they call into question a host of assumptions about both the nature and goals of education. In the first instance, an educational instrument is very different from an educational process. To conceive of education as the acquisition of a series of tools, such as shovels, slide rules, and box wrenches, is to miss the fact that concepts, methods, bits of historical data, etc., are culturally produced and ideologically biased, skewing not only what we know but how we know. A familiar example is the historical treatment of the roles of Blacks and American Indians in our history; the treatment of women is also a selective educational practice which serves a particular value system. Both show that we know selectively, and that our knowledge is both racist and sexist in character. But to understand education as a process means that one's engagement with the world is a continuous, deep penetration of historical and cultural experience, bringing to light not only more cogent understandings of the experience, but also the concommitant vocation to humanize and liberate it.

Similarly, transmission is very different from transformation. Education as transmission presupposes an intact past which can be handed over to the next generation; education as transformation demands that the future re-order the past, and the a prioris handed down to us. Education as transmission presupposes that our historical experience may be reduced to the level of fact; but education as transformation takes hold of historical experience at the level of event, thus emphasizing its uniqueness, and not the repetitiveness of mere fact.

The presumed neutrality of education is thus, for Freire, a smoke screen of mystification which enshrouds the interests of entrenched groups, locked-in assumptions, and the unquestioned integrity of the status quo. To break out of this oppressive situation education must be embarked upon as a journey, as a process of change within educator and pupil, which in turn will enable both to change their historical situation.

There is a third Freire premise to which I would like to lend support. He insists that human consciousness is intentionalizing. Consciousness for him, is never static; it is always on its way somewhere, engaged in some project, attaching itself to some object. Put differently, Freire does not believe that consciousness exists apart from relationships, but that the relationship between consciousness and its object is the "stretching toward" the latter on the part of the former.* Consciousness is not merely receptive of stimuli from the world in which it lives; it is purposive in regard to it. Here Freire joins ranks with many current critics of the Cartesian Assumption, and ties his critique directly to the educational process. The Subject/Object dichotomy is epistemologically specious, says Freire, for we only know-in-relation. To truly know does not require that we separate ourselves from that which we wish to know, but that we become critically engaged with it with a view toward changing it. Indeed, to learn about something _is_ to change it, for to learn is to appropriate, name, and use.

I find myself in substantial agreement with Freire on all three of these matters, and believe he is on the right pedagogical track. In what follows, therefore, the basic stance I wish to take is that of the loving critic.

## II.

### Rhetoric and Style

Readers of Freire will already have some inkling of what is to follow here. The criticism is simply this: it ill behooves an educator for liberation to present himself to interested readers cloaked in such an obscure, convoluted, dull, overly metaphysical style, devoid of the real human experience which generated such provocative ideas. Freire was able to conscientize Brazilian peasants by getting them to tell their own stories, yet he tells us almost none of his. Granted that such works as _Pedagogy of the Oppressed_ are intended to be theoretical expositions, even theory can be clearly written, and even more important, humanly written.** It is not a matter of being picky here, for something important is at stake. There is simply a contradiction between a career in which the causes of clarity, demythologizing, demystifying, and de-obfuscation have been pursued at great personal cost, and the leaden philosophical prose which Freire inflicts on his readers. If his ideas are ever to gain the popular exposure which they deserve, then some attention will have to be paid to how these ideas are expressed.

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* Lat. "intendere" - "to stretch toward." The intentionalizing nature of consciousness is captured in the Portuguese word which characterizes Freire's method: _conscientacao_ or conscientization.

**Nor does it do to fault his translators, a practice among critics somewhat akin to the time-honored custom of refusing to criticize a king while blaming all that goes wrong on the fact the he gets bad advice. I know people who are proficient in Portuguese and Spanish who find Freire's prose impossible.

A similar point could be made in regard to Freire's rhetoric. In an age when demagoguery and overblown phraseology abound it is difficult to identify talented and thoughtful polemicists, which, in part, is what Freire is. But what are we to make of the following?

> A true revolutionary project.... to which the utopian dimension is natural, is a process in which the people assume the role of subject in the precarious adventure of transforming and re-creating the world. [1]

Who are" the people" or in other contexts "the masses"? What, concretely, constitutes a "true revolutionary project"? (The reader is advised to note that the quotation is a purported definition.) Elsewhere in the same monograph Freire states that denunciation and annunciation as modes of expression for a "utopian" or "revolutionary" project must be "anti-ideological insofar as they result from a scientific knowledge of reality."[2] Questions arise immediately. What is meant by "scientific" in this context? It sounds vaguely Marxian, but the ideological freight carried by the term "scientific" has long been recognized, and one might even argue that this is a point at which Northerners have to be conscientized themselves. What are we to do culturally with the ideology of science and idolatry of the scientific method?

The point of these criticisms about style and rhetoric is not merely to enter a plea for clarity and the curbing of uselessly confusing rhetoric. It is that Freire's penchant for obfuscation and his intemperate use of words such as "revolutionary," "scientific," "the people," "ideological," etc., give unloving critics the opportunity to attack for all the wrong reasons. Better that Freire should be forced to do battle on the right issues rather than the false ones. Better that he issue a clear call to his pedagogical banner than one which has to be translated into the vernacular before the battle can even begin.

## Theory of Relationships

A look at Freire's theory of relationships takes us right to the heart of substantive criticism. Happily, he views the educational process, and the creation of culture through it, as a matter of breaking old forms of connection and the forging of new linkages between teacher and pupil, person and person, people and culture. What is unfortunate is that his theory of relationships is univocal, i.e he understands people or groups to be in polar relationships with each other, but understands only one form of the relationship. The following list of that contrasting terms, culled at random from Freire's writings, may serve to illustrate:

dominator - dominated
director - directed
directive - dependent
oppressor - oppressed
colonizer - colonized
subject - object
actor - acted upon
speaker - echo, silent one
domesticator - domesticated
keeper - kept

This constellation of terms reveals that the basic relationship which Freire sees at work in the Third World, from a political and cultural point of view, is one which we might label Subjection. It is one which lends itself to a "revolutionary pedagogy" because of its high visibility and its potential for unrest. But from a cultural point of view it is one-sided. Are there not other styles of relationship in Latin America, or the Third World, which are equally visible and which might provide fertile soil for conscientization?

One kind of relationship which comes to mind is that in which polar occupants (in the case of Subjection, the oppressor and the oppressed) relate to each other through an intermediary or buffer. There is some evidence to suggest, for instance, that the Roman Catholic Church serves this function, in some respects, in terms of the relationship between ruling classes and peasants in Latin American society. At other class levels what might be at work is a relationship dominated by the notion of bargaining, in which the connection between polar occupants is constituted by the mutually shared practice of striking bargains in order to achieve shared goals. (While this may not be a particularly visible mode of connection in the Latin American context, it is very important in Middle Eastern Countries.)

I am suggesting here that Freire's propensity to see Latin American culture as a function of one basic relational pattern obstructs his vision with respect to others, which may be equally important for his educational ideas. All political, social, and cultural data are forced into a univocal theory of relationships giving rise to a particular pedagogical thrust. What is becoming increasingly clear is that Subjection, as a way of being connected, is in more and more trouble the world over because of its failure to deliver the cultural energy for humanizing change. The same might be true of other modes of relationship, and they in turn could be used for the conscientizing task.

What Freire is after are new modes of connection. He wants to uncover possibilities for building culture on a different base. The difficulty is that he does not read all the relational messages his own culture is sending. A wider perspective might disclose other relational sources of cultural energy, in turn producing a more diverse pedagogical style. Moreover, the mistakes made by too facile a translation of Freire's methods into other cultural situations could be minimized by a more pluriform theory of relationships.

## Epistemology at Odds with Itself

I have previously indicated that I am in basic agreement with the epistemological approach taken by Freire, but some discussion in a critical vein is also in order. It is clear from the literature by and about Freire that his epistemology was arrived at inductively. He began by immersing himself in a particular situation, out of which his literacy method was developed, from whence came a theory which finally issued in some philosophical notions about how it is we "know." As this process of abstraction continued to move in step-level fashion, each new insight at higher levels of abstraction was checked against the experience of the concrete situation in which either Freire or his literacy cadres were involved. Such a procedure is both fruitful and praiseworthy.

What is objectionable is that when the whole matrix of theory and praxis is presented, the reverse order is followed. It is epistemology which takes pride of place. A theory of knowing is developed, then a method is advanced which corresponds to the theory, then a situation is evoked in which the method can be or has been used. As Freire works he proceeds inductively; as he speaks he proceeds deductively. Some will protest that this is as it needs to be. Freire himself would probably say that such a procedure is wasteful, that it makes experience subservient to philosophy, and most important, that it contradicts the first principle of the epistemology he himself has experienced-that knowing cannot be separated from the intentionality of the knower *in situ*. The effect is that the explanation of a new educational approach is at odds with the approach itself. We are invited to a parade of concepts before we share an experience, or before we are even told a story.

## Pedagogy and Politics

A number of people who have worked on the Freire model are beginning to discover that Freire's methods make it possible to be critical about nearly everything - except those methods themselves. Perhaps we cannot fault Freire so much at this point, however, for he gives his readers fair warning that his intentions are revolutionary. And here he has much sympathy and support. But education is a process whereby we not only break from the past and break open the present, it is also a process whereby we consolidate the gains of those breaks and give them flesh and blood.

Whether by intention or design, Freire gives the impression that once the process of conscientization has been initiated and a clear break with the past effected, that past is to be left behind in the name of the revolutionary future.[3] But Rosenstock-Huessy has reminded us that we can have no more future than we have past ( and vice versa!), and that sense is what I miss in Freire. What is needed is to develop the skills of re-appropriating and re-articulating where we have come from historically in the light of the way the future is breaking in upon us now. The result of real conscientization will not be acting as if our history were no longer relevant, but as if we could evoke whole new meanings from it. For instance, the fact that we can no longer read Hegel in the same way after reading Marx does not mean that we stop reading Hegel.

A further point follows from this one. A pedagogy on the Freire model will not allow us to appropriate our past via inculcation, propagandizing, and "banking education." That much is clear. But more clarification is needed on how to re-articulate our past as a resource for humanizing social policy and liberating cultural action. The temptation for small communities of people to cut themselves off from a dead and/or deadening past is strong. But using conscientization as a process for re-working our historical experience can assist small groups in escaping the traps of their own value assumptions, however tentative or radical. In short, Freire's pedagogy is much more dependent on the political content of revolution than is necessary. Much more attention may be needed for the task of educating ourselves in re-forging our heritage and traditions into weapons for what Rudi Deutschke has called "the long march through the institutions."

On another level, from the point of view of what Hegel might call our "world-historical situation," we are in a period when the kind of revolutionary action Freire envisions as a consequence of his "education for liberation" is now an impossibility. His pedagogical stance is one geared to explosion when all the fire-fighting equipment is in the hands of the oppressor. What may be more useful is a pedagogy geared to erosion - the systematic undermining of the social, political, and cultural assumptions which perpetuate not only the slums of Rio and Harlem, but also the board rooms, university lecture halls, and legislative cloakrooms. In those places a revolutionary pedagogy is not particularly relevant or useful, nor is it likely to be for a long time to come - if ever. But a pedagogy of erosion which could take its own politics seriously, and which could transform itself to meet new historical conditions, might find more success.

For we now know that oppressive and reactionary forces, even in liberal guise, simply cannot cover all their exposed fronts at once. A more politically self-critical pedagogy on the Freire model might contribute to a kind of educational guerilla warfare, skirmishing here, digging out a foundation stone there, inserting a wedge somewhere else. Freire understands the truth once expressed by the cartoon character Pogo, that "We have met the enemy and he is us." We have internalized the consciousness of the oppressor in our own lives and political action. To be politically conscientized means that we are critical of our own conscientization. Perhaps radicals need to be disabused of the notion that the revolution is just around the corner and live for a while as if it were not. They might then be able to determine what alternatives are open short of some political equivalent to the apocalypse. Conversely, perhaps advocates of moderate and gradual change must begin to live as if the revolution were at hand, and find out what kinds of political options are thus created for them.

## Freire in Translation

In conclusion, a few words should be written about the use of Freire in other cultural situations, particularly in the U.S.A. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that even an indirect translation of Freire is simply folly. Already there are a number of groups of people at work among oppressed classes and groups in the United States, (and even among the middle class), who have experienced the frustrations of trying to impose Freire like a grid on vastly different situations. Some of these groups remind me of the all too numerous radical students who were continuously looking in every nook and cranny for the elusive "proletariat," except their contemporary descendants are searching for the true "generative themes" of American culture. There has been too much dependence on method here, and too little willingness to learn from our own struggle.

I am reminded of a parallel from my own discipline, theology. In recent years much attention has been focused on the so-called "new hermeneutics." Scholars of this persuasion have occupied themselves with the development of new canons of interpretation which attempt to make the concepts, meanings, and thought patterns of the first century available to twentieth century people. They have sought ways to "translate" from one historical period and culture to another. The difficulty in this task, I believe, lies in the basic premise that the task is indeed one of translation - of finding equivalents which are interconvertible between historical periods and cultures. But the problem goes much deeper, for the task is not so much one of translation as it is finding fruitful ways of struggling with our own historical and cultural situation, just as Paul the Apostle and the Early Church struggled with theirs.

I sense the presence of a growing number of Freire-ites who are making the mistake with trans-cultural work in our time that the new hermeneutics theologians have made with trans-historical work. We need to be reminded that Freire and his literacy teams worked out their own educational salvation in the midst of a particular cultural situation, developed methods especially suited to that culture, in languages which do not work like English, and where reality is perceived quite differently. But the Latin American experience of conscientization can be a clue to our own. What Americans require is to get in touch with their own experience, to apprehend and struggle with that experience in the context of small communities of people who are willing to make two basic commitments: to cultural liberation and to each other. That experience, that struggle, and the commitment to a real life situation are more important than any "method," regardless of our basic sympathy with it. The point is not to interpret Freire into the American situation, nor to translate him, nor to use him as a guide. The point is to do for ourselves what he has done for himself and his situation. Freire cannot liberate us; we must liberate ourselves.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Paulo Freire, "Cultural Action for Freedom," Harvard Educational Review and the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, Series No. 1, (Cambridge, Mass.: 1970), p. 48.

2. Ibid., pp. 43, 47.

3. See, for example, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, pp. 72 ff.

# THE STRUGGLE FOR BIRTH AND REBIRTH:
## Introduction to Bibliography

by
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It may seem just plain silly to be writing essays and preparing bibliographies on Paulo Freire when men and women are being expelled from their home countries, jailed, tortured, and shot for engaging in praxis within the Freire approach (e.g. see 89)*. And it is, unless perhaps our work is of secondary service to the people of this world in their struggle to be free, and unless we recognize that even in our word exercises we too are part of the people and are willing to stand up and be counted in that struggle. Perhaps we can be of service by presenting suggestions which will ultimately reduce the violence of the oppressor and the reactive violence of the oppressed, and at the same time increase the effectiveness of all who are dedicated to a radical approach to human dignity.

Ever since the spring of 1970, when I, like many others, was awakened from the sleep of conformity by the kiss of the invasion of Cambodia and the smelling salts of campus-distributed tear gas, I have tried to act within the field of adult education with one main purpose in mind: to find, and join with, colleagues who will work for a radically humanistic approach to the field as part of a world wide effort toward a society in which, for the first time, all men will be free of oppressive rule. It is clear that by now there is a growing group of adult educators who are working to bring to birth education-action for the liberation of others while engaging in our own rebirth through self-liberating activities. We have found inspiration, support, and stimulation in the writings of men such as Freire, also Illich, Reimer (52, 56, 57), and others. And the essays above will help. Even Griffith's contribution provides support by revealing the true nature of existing programs, as when he writes:

> Government sponsored adult literacy programs... are typically designed to enable individuals from the lower socioeconomic classes to adapt to the demands of our technological society without raising their hopes that they might be able to exert any influence on the nature of that society. (p. 69 above)

And perhaps the following bibliography will help. If we can avoid the twin dangers of co-optation and sectarianism we can learn much and be aided toward effective radical adult action-education by reading Freire and those who have written about him.

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*Numbers in parentheses refer to items in the following bibliography.

This bibliography may, at first glance, appear to offer much more than you want to know about Freire and his ideas. But the large number of items serve a variety of purposes, for example:

- A quick view in English (85, 115, 123).
- Views of the application of his perspective to adult education in the United States ( 53, 56, 68, 69, 70, 72, 77, 92, 100, 101, 102, 124, 130, 133, 134, 140, 143).
- Background on his approach to adult literacy education (17, 34, 79, 82, 83, 87, 110).
- Applications to social work (23, 137), agricultural extension (24), political adult education (36, 59, 89, 121), public schools (and) adult education (39, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 114, 119, 125), the psychology of adult education (67), and religious adult education (60, 65, 71, 75, 96, 109, 111, 122, 126, 139).
- Negative criticism of Freire (59, 62, 63, 64, 66, 84, 86, 88, 117, 127).
- If you are put off by his jargon in spots, see some of his clear, simple statements (28, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48).
- Views on Freire of educational philosophers (61, 84, 86, 117, 120, 127, 128, 131).
- Freire and the Latin American situation (31, 46, 49, 50, 55, 93, 97, 98, 104, 118, 135).
- Understanding the world wide impact of his approach (47, 51, 112, and all of Part VII).
- Background on conducting a seminar in the Freire approach (3, 11, 27, 78, 81, 99). Also note that Farmer at UCLA, London at UC-Berkeley, Ohliger and Bateman at Ohio State University, and Apps, Douglah, and Kreitlow at University of Wisconsin-Madison are, or are about to be, conducting seminars on this topic.

The bibliography that follows is far from complete. But it does serve to illustrate the importance of Freire as an essential figure in the growth of a global radical adult education movement. We are indebted to many people, too numerous to mention, for their assistance in its preparation ( 1 thru 14 indicate a few who were helpful). It will soon be published in a Spanish language version. (For information write Luis Guerrero H., Comite Editorial, Revista del Centro de Estudios Educativos, Culiacan 108-4d, Apartado No. 27-321, Mexico City 11, Mexico.) A few numbers have been left out in the bibliography because we discovered duplications in different languages and editions after we had cross-referenced the first draft.

As a final note, it may not be fruitful to read further if you are committed to a world in the immediate future in which the rulers and the ruled are reconciled, to a world in which adult educators find job security, or to an America which confines the use of the term "revolution" to such pitchmen as Burger Beer ("the flavor revolution"), the YWCA ("the gentle revolution"), Playtex ("our revolutionary girdle"), and

Nixon ("my revolutionary legislative program"). If you see that conflict, revolt, rebellion, and struggle are necessary, but not sufficient, aspects of movement toward a humanistic future; and if it serves to put you in contact with others having similar convictions, then the following bibliography will be worthwhile.

# QUOTATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

compiled by
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## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:

The quotations presented with the bibliographic items below are samples but not necessarily representative samples, of works cited. They are mainly statements by the authors quoted that we found provocative.

## PART I: MAJOR SOURCES FOR ITEMS

Note: To save space addresses for the sources of many of the items listed in PARTS II through VII are given here and will be referred to in those parts as "Source #." In some cases some of these sources may be able to send copies of items or to provide information on obtaining them.

(1) CIDOC (Center for Intercultural Documentation), APDO 479, Cuernavaca, Mexico. The center, established by Ivan Illich and his colleagues, has provided many opportunities for Freire to speak and write. Since it usually publishes only a small number of each item, its materials must often be sought elsewhere. Many libraries have subscribed to its publication service. Sources # 2, 3, and 13 can sometimes be helpful.

(2) Collins, Denis. c/o College of the Queen of Peace, Box 4316, Santa Barbara, California 93103. Collins has gathered many documents from Mexico and other countries. He has sent us a helpful bibliography published in Contacto, Vol. VIII, No. 1, put out by Secretariado Social Mexicano, Roma 1, Mexico City 6, Mexico. He says this issue sells for about $ 1.20.

(3) Ewell, Denise Dreher, Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. According to its brochure, "The Center is an independent group of men and women engaged in reflective study and new ways of communicating about 'development' and 'social change'." Freire is a member of its Board. "Fees for Center services are negotiated with each interested group. The group's ability to pay is taken into account, as well as the professional level of the service rendered." Ms. Ewell is on "The Center Team," with her major interests listed as community education, administration, and documentation.

(4) Greene, Maxine. 1080 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10028. Professor Greene organized and chaired a meeting of the American Educational Studies Association to discuss Freire's ideas on education.

(5) Herman, Reg. Managing Editor, Convergence, P.O. Box 250, Station "F," Toronto 5, Canada. This is an international journal

of adult education which publishes in four languages: English, Spanish, French, and Russian. It was the first journal to call the attention of adult educators around the world to Freire's ideas.

(6) Keelan, Mary, c/o Department of English, Hunter College, Room 420hs, 695 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10021. Ms. Keelan has studied extensively and written on Freire.

(7) Kissinger, Inge, Secretary to Paulo Freire, Programme Unit, Education and Communication, World Council of Churches, 150, Route de Ferney 1211, Geneva 20 Switzerland. Ms. Kissinger maintains a "current list" of Freire publications.

(8) Martin, D'Arcy, 267 Saint George Street, Apt. 907, Toronto 181, Ontario, Canada. Martin has gathered a number of original documents from his trips to Latin America. He has "a full set of the drawings and instructions used in Chile under the direction of Freire" and " a set of the materials developed by INDICEP in Oruro for Bolivia." These are available for inspection but not for loan.

(9) Ohliger, John, Faculty of Educational Special Services, College of Education, Ohio State University, 363 Arps Hall, 1945 North High Street, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

(10) Robinson, Margaret (Sunny). 51 Chilton St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

(11) Romero, Joan. 215 W. Walnut Lane, B-403, Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Ms. Romero is a member of The Philadelphia Theological Community which, according to its brochure, is "an interdisciplinary group of professional men and women who have a strong commitment to communal scholarship within the context of the larger urban community." In addition to other activities it offers a flexible program of seminars and workshops, one of which is a "Workshop in the Paulo Freire Method." Other members of the Community are Bruce Boston, Sandra Boston, Barbara Hall, Gilbert Romero, Richard Shaull, Victoria Wingert, and Vernon Wingert. Ms. Romero's address is given for those requesting further information about the Community.

(12) Sherwin, Harriet, Box 363, Belvedere, California 94920. In working on a Freire related doctoral dissertation, Mrs. Sherwin has gathered a number of documents which others seem not to have located.

(13) Strharsky, Harry, Supervisor, Research/Library, Latin America Bureau, Division for Latin America, Department of International Affairs, United States Catholic Conference, P.O. Box 6066, 1430 "K" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. As far as we can tell Strharsky maintains the most complete collection of Freire related documents in the United States available for anyone's perusal.

(14) U.S. Office of the World Council of Churches, Publications Service, Room 439, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. This office maintains a list of publications available for sale and may be able to help in locating other World Council of Churches materials on or by Freire.

## PART II: ITEMS BY FREIRE ARRANGED IN ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Note: Freire's writings and speeches have appeared in many different places, in various languages, and have been combined into several books. Below we attempt only to present a preliminary listing, with emphasis on works which include several of his pieces that might also be available separately.

(15) "Escola Primaria para o Brasil," (Primary Education for Brazil) Revista Brasileira de Estudios Pedagogicos, 35:82, April-June 1961. pp. 15-33.

(16) "Alfabetizacion de Adultos y 'Conscientizacion'," Mensaje, No. 142, Sept., 1965, pp. 494-501. Our source # 13.

(17) Education as the Practice of Liberty. McGraw-Hill will publish an English translation in early 1973 in a book which will also contain Extension or Communication (Chapter 14 in Item # 22), plus a new forward by Denis Goulet. Source # 3. Chapter 4 has been translated by DeWitt in Item # 130. Weffort's introduction has been translated, see Item # 121. Other language editions available: Educacao como Pratica da Liberdade. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1967. 150 pages. La Educacion como Pratica de la Liberdad. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, Calle Arturo Claro 1468, 1969-1970, and Montevideo, Uruguay: Tierra Nueva, 1969-1970. Our source # 7. L'Education - pratique de la Liberte. Paris: Editions du CERF, 1971. Our source # 7. From chapter 4: "From the beginning we avoided purely mechanical approaches to literacy. We aimed at an adult Brazilian literacy education which would raise the level of consciousness in accordance with the phenomenon of emergence that was happening in our country. Our task, then, was to raise the level of consciousness from naivete to critical intelligence while at the same time moving from illiteracy to literacy."

(18) "Contribucion al Proceso de Conscientizacion en America Latina," Cristianismo Y Sociedad, Suplemento: Montevideo, 1968, 103 pages. From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

(19) Cultural Action and Conscientization. Santiago: UNESCO, 1968 From bibliography in Item # 175.

(20) "La Methode d'alphabetisation des adultes," Communautes, Paris, Vol. 23, June-July 1968, pp. 13-29. Also published by CIDOC (Source # 1) as Doc. 69/191. Our sources # 2 &7.

(21) La alfabetizacion funcional en Chile. A paper for UNESCO, Nov. 1968, Ms. Our source # 11, who states information may be obtained from Source # 3.

(22) Educacao e Conscientizaco: Extensionismo Rural. Cuernavaca: CIDOC Cuaderno 25, 1968. $ 12.75 from Source # 1. 320 pages: 44 in Portuguese and 276 in Spanish. Portions of this book have been published separately as follows: Introduction in Portuguese by Ernani Maria Fiori, 19 pages, also, but in Spanish, as "Aprender a Decir Su Palabra," in Conscientizacion II, Serie 2, Doc 8, 1969, Our source # 13. Chapter 1, in Portuguese, is also Chapter IV, "Education and Conscientization," in Education: An Exercise in Freedom (Item # 17). Chapter 2, in Spanish (as the rest of the book is), also as "La Alfabetizacion de Adultos," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2, Doc 9, 1969, Our Source # 13. Part One of Chapter 3 appears as "La Concepcion Bancaria de la Educacion y la Dehumanizacion," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2, Doc 9, 1969, Our Source #13. Part Two of Chapter 3 appears as "La Concepcion Problematizadora de la Educacion," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2, Doc 9, 1969, Our Source # 13. Chapter 4, which begins "Santiago, marzo - 68," also appears as "Investigacion y Metodologia de la Investigacion del'Tema Generador," in Conscientizacion IV, 1969, Our Source # 13. Chapter 5, which begins, "Paulo Freire Abril 1968," also appears as "A Propocito del'Tema Generador' y del Universo Tematico," in Conscientizacion IV, Serie 2, Doc 10, 1969, Our Source # 13. Chapter 6, "Dialectica y Libertad," is by Jose Luis Fiori. Chapter 7 begins "Santiago, Febrero de 1968." Chapter 8 is also dated "Febrero de 1968." Chapter 9, which is dated "mayo - 68, Santiago," also appears in English as "The Role of the Social Worker in the Process of Change," 29 pages, Our Source # 3. Chapter 11 is dated "Marzo de 1968." Chapter 12 appears in English as "To the Coordinator of a Culture Circle," in Convergence, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1971, pp. 61-62, Our Source # 5. Chapter 13 is by Freire and Raul Veloso (Velozo Farias). Chapter 14, 102 pages, has appeared separately as a book in the following editions: Extension o Comunicacion. Santiago, Chile, 1969, also Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1971; and as Extensao o Communicacao. Rio de Janeiro, 1971. An English translation is coming out, see Item # 17. One part of Chapter 14 has appeared in English as "Knowledge is a Critical Appraisal of the World," in CERES, Vol. IV, No. 3, May-June, 1971, pp. 46-51, Our Source # 3. Note: Several portions of the whole book appear as Sections in Chapters of Sobre la Accion Cultural (Item # 23).

(23) Sobre la Accion Cultural. Santiago de Chile: ICIRA, 1969 & 1971. 117 pages. $ 3.00. Order from Maria Elena de Jordan, Oficina Editorial, ICIRA, Arturo Claro 1468, Casilla 1949, Santiago, Chile. Add 70 cents for air mail delivery. Also available

mimeographed at $ 4.00 from Secretariado Social Mexicano, Roma 1, Mexico City 6, Mexico. In Spanish. Portions of this book have been published separately as follows: There is a ten page introduction by Marcela Gajardo J. Section One of Chapter 1 appears as two parts, as "La Concepcion Bancaria de la Educacion y la Dehumanizacion," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2, Doc 9, 1969, Our Source # 13, and as "La Concepcion Problematizadora de la Educacion," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2, Doc 9, 1969, Our Source # 13. Section Two of Chapter One appears as " La alfabetizacion de Adultos," in Conscientizacion III, Serie 2 Doc 9, 1969, Our Source # 13. Section One of Chapter 2 appears as "Investigacion y Metodologia de la Investigacion del'Tema Generador," in Conscientizacion IV, 1969, Our Source # 13. Section 2 of Chapter 2 appears as "A Propocito del'Tema Generador' y del Universo Tematico," in Conscientizacion IV, Serie 2, Doc 10, 1969, Our Source # 13. Section Two of Chapter 3 appears in English as "The Role of the Social Worker in the Process of Change," 29 pages, Our Source # 3. Note: Several sections of chapters in this book also appear in Educacao e Conscientizacao: Extensionismo Rural (Item # 22).

(24) 1968 Annual Report - Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969. Translated as pp. 225-262 in Item # 130. "Radicalized peasants cannot be manipulated. Radical consciousness and manipulation are irreconcilable. The first, effecting an authentic praxis, involves men in humanization, which is their historic vocation: the second, 'domesticating them,' reifies them and, as such, makes them less than they were... It is the lack of a critical understanding of work which leads even educators to speak and, even worse, to carry out courses which are called 'personnel training courses'."

(26) "Accion Cultural Liberadora (una entrevista con Paulo Freire)," Vispera, No. 10, May, 1969, pp. 23-28. Our Source # 13.

(27) Seminar on Adult Education as Cultural Action: Fall 1969. Draft program and bibliography for seminar conducted by Freire at Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, Center for Studies in Education and Development. 25 pages. Source # 3 states she is "in the process of re-typing these materials... in spare moments... When finished we can Xerox copies for those who wish them." Freire: "From the point of view of a democratic educational practice, necessarily based on dialogue, the content of the educational program cannot result from a decision taken solely by the educator... Only in the anti-democratic process of education, necessarily opposed to dialogue, does the program remain not only the exclusive choice of the processor, but also static, rigid, immutable, and 'bureaucratized'."

(28) Cultural Action: A Dialectic Analysis. Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC,

1970. CIDOC Cuaderno No. 1004. 41 pages. Out of Print at Source #1, but may be available from Sources # 2, 13, or 3. "Note to the reader: This essay was originally written, in English, for a seminar at the Center for Studies in Education and Development, in Cambridge, Mass. Paulo Freire used the text for a series of talks given in Spanish at CIDOC during Spring Term 1970. The present version was prepared by Everett Reimer, director of the seminar on Alternatives in Education, for distribution to participants in Spring Term 1970." A number of people feel this is a much better presentation in English of Freire's essential views than that found in the Herder and Herder translation of Pedagogy of the Oppressed. "At home, as husband and father, I cannot be the owner of my wife and children, nor at school, as teacher, can I be the owner of my students. I cannot 'enter' into their beings in order to move them toward the 'ways' which seem best to me. If I do so, I am their dominator and they are mere 'things' which I possess; dialogue and true love are impossible."

(30) Excerpts from "Witness to Liberation" and correspondence appear in Seeing Education Whole. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1970. 126 pages. This book also contains writings of Martin Conway, Raymond Poignant, Tom Paxton, Jacques Prevert, Malvina Reynolds, Charles Hurst, Eustace Renner, and Ellis Nelson. It grew out of a consultation held by the Office of Education of WCC at Bergen, Holland, May 17-22, 1970 on the theme "The World's Educational Crisis and the Church's Contribution." For information on its availability write to Dr. W.B. Kennedy, Office of Education, World Council of Churches, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. Freire: "I think that it is necessary for me to try to clarify what I mean by 'the impossibility of a neutral education.' First of all, it no more depends on my point of view than on anyone else's wish. To say that education cannot be a neutral action is to state a concrete fact, the critical perception of which is an essential part of my attitude with regard to the educational process. However, this critical perception does not define education as a practice in which educators fail to respect not only the expressivity of the educatees but also their right to choose and their right to learn how to choose by the practical method of choosing."

(31) "Cultural Freedom in Latin America," Chapter in Human Rights and Liberation of Man in the Americas. Edited by Louis M. Colonnese. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970. Paperback, 278 pages. "The option for modernization as against development implies the restriction of cultural freedom as well as the use of methods and of techniques through which the access to culture would apparently be controlled. It implies an education for the maintainence of the status quo, preserving the non-participation of the people in whatever the process in any field; an

education, which instead of unfolding reality, mythifies it and, consequently, domesticates and adapts man." Freire's chapter is pp. 102-179. Appears as a separate publication in Spanish: Diagnostico de la Libertad Cultural en Latinoamericana. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Interamerican Cooperation Program, Div. for Latin America, U.S. Cath. Conference, 1969. 20 pages. Source # 13.

(32) Article in World Outlook, April-May, 1970, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. From bibliography in Item # 47.

(33) Article in Rocca, Assisi 06081, Italy, June, 1970. From bibliography in Item # 47.

(34) Cultural Action for Freedom. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Educational Review and Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, September, 1970. Monograph series No. 1. 55 pages. $ 2.00. Order from Harvard Educational Review, Longfellow Hall, 13 Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. In addition to reprint of Freire's "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom" and "Cultural Action and Conscientization" from the May and August 1970 Harvard Educational Review this monograph contains a new Introduction and Appendix by Freire plus a Preface by Joao da Veiga Coutinho. Coutinho: "In the voice of Paulo Freire the Third World still disdains to address itself to the managers of the First. In his opinion, and in that of many of his peers, there can be no dialogue between antagonists. But Freire invites the hitherto silent sectors of the affluent world or at least the more awakened members of those overmanaged, overconsuming societies to a rediscovery of the world in which they live and of their own vocation in that world, in dialogue with its pariahs." This is the best single source in English we have found for a description of the principles behind Freire's approach to adult literacy education.

(35) Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, 1970. 186 pages. $ 5.95 ( $ 3.95 in paperback). As the only general trade book by Freire available, at the moment, in English, this is the one that has attracted the most attention in the United States. Other editions: Methuen has published it in Canada at $ 7.25. Also as Pedagogia del Oprimido. Montevideo, Uruguay: Tierra Nueva, 1971; La Pedagogia degli Oppressi. Rome: Mondadori, 1971; Padagogik der Unterdrukten. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1971. Our Source for foreign language publication is # 7. "The pedagogy of the oppressed, a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity. This pedagogy makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for

their liberation. And in this struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade.... Denial of communion in the revolutionary process, avoidance of dialogue with the people under the pretext of organizing them, of strengthening revolutionary power, or of ensuring a united front, is really a fear of freedom. It is fear of, or lack of, faith in the people."

(36) "The Political Literacy Process - An Introduction," a mimeographed manuscript prepared for publication in the Lutherische Monatshefte, Hannover, Germany, Oct. 1970, 12 pages. Our Source # 3. "The political 'illiterate' - no matter whether he knows how to read or write or not - is he who has a naive perception of men in their relationships with the world; a naive understanding of social reality."

(37) "Notes on Humanisation and Its Educational Implications," mimeographed manuscript of a seminar: Educ-International - Tomorrow Began Yesterday, Rome, Nov. 1970, translated by Louise Bigwood, 8 pages. Our Sources # 10 and 7. "There can no more be humanisation in oppression than there can be dehumanisation in true liberation. Moreoever, liberation cannot exist without men's consciousness, isolated from the world; it exists in the praxis of men in history which requires a critical awareness of the relation it implies between consciousness and the world."

(38) "Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating," a taped version of a talk given by Freire in Rome in 1970, appeared in Spanish in Contacto, March 1971, in English in LADOC: II, 29a, April, 1972. Source # 13. 8 pages. LADOC introduction to this and items 41 and 42 states: "Freire is very much in vogue these days, but anyone who reads him will agree that he has a desiccated metaphysical way of wrapping up his ideas that is most disconcerting. Here are three statements by him on his central notion, conscientization, that may by clearer than some of his other writings." Freire: "I would like to begin today by telling where that great mouthful of a word 'conscientization' came from. Many people, especially in Latin America and the United States, insist that I invented that strange word, because it is a central idea in my thoughts on education. But I didn't. The word was born during a series of round table meetings of professors at the Brazilian Institute of Higher Studies (ISEB), which was created after the 'liberating' revolution of 1964, under the wing of the Ministry of Education. The word was excogitated by some one of the professors there, but I really can't remember who. Anyway, it came out of our group reflections ..... Helder Camara was the one who popularized the term and gave it currency in English. Thus, thanks to him rather than to me, the word caught on in Europe and the United States."

(39) "Education for Awareness A Talk with Paulo Freire" Risk Vol. 6, No. 4, 1970, pp. 7-19. Available at $ 1.00 from Source # 14.

"I think that Ivan Illich is absolutely right when he describes the schools, no matter their levels-primary or not - as instruments of social control. Really, schools themselves are domesticating institutions... a school itself builds the alienation of us, in us, precisely because the task of schools-in a wrong way... in a wrong perception- is to transfer to the students the existing knowledge, but, look it is very, very important to note - the existing knowledge exists because consciousness, in its reflective power, can know.... Instead of transferring the existing knowledge it is necessary to invite consciousness to assume the active attitude without which it is impossible to create knowledge."

(40) Proceedings of Encuentro Internacional INODEP (Instituto Ecumenico al Servicio del Desarrollo de los Pueblos), December 9-17, 1970. These are the mimeographed proceedings of the first meetings of this encounter group, of which Freire is president. For further information write Encuentro Internacional INODEP, 7, Impasse Reille, 75 Paris 14e, France.

(41) "Letter to a Young Theology Student," appeared in Spanish in Perspectivas de Dialogo, Dec., 1970 (See Item # 175), in English in LADOC, II, 29b, April, 1972. 2 pages, Source # 13. "I imagine that one of the prime purposes that we Christians ought to have in this connection is to get rid of any illusory dream of trying to change man without touching the world he lives in. Such an attitude, which no doubt appeals to those who enjoy comfortable living conditions, would make us want to preserve the status quo, in which oppressed peoples are kept from being fully human."

(42) "The Third World and Theology," Excerpts from a letter to Almeida Cunha, In Spanish in Perspectivas de Dialogo, Dec. 1970 (See Item # 175). In English in LADOC, II, 29c, April, 1972, 3 pages, Source # 13. "It is time now for Christians to distinguish that so obvious thing, love, from its pathological variants: sadism, masochism, or both together. For the contrary of love is not, as people often or even usually think, hatred, but fear of loving; and fear of loving is fear of being free."

(43) "Desmitificacion de la Conscientizacion," a typed transcript of a lecture given at CIDOC (Source # 1) in Jan. 1971. Our Source #2.

(44) "Conscientizar para Liberar," Contacto, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1971, pp. 42-52. Address of magazine is in Source # 2.

(45) Article in La Vie Catholique, Paris, Spring, 1971. From bibliography in Item # 47.

(46) "Education as Cultural Action," Chapter (pp. 109-122) in Conscientization for Liberation. Edited by Louis M. Colonnese. Washington: Div. for Latin America, USCC, 1971. 305 pages. Order at $ 3.95 from Source # 13. The book is a compilation of

talks presented to a conference in Washington, D.C. in Feb., 1970 called "New Dimensions in Hemispheric Realities." For contents see Item # 49. Freire: "If through estrangement men can become men and thus enter into the humanization process, then by overcoming estrangement men can become free and increasingly human." With slight editing this material also appeared as The 'Real' Meaning of Cultural Action. Text of lecture delivered at CIDOC, January, 1970. 17 pages. CIDOC Doc 70/216. Source #12.

(47) "By Learning They Can Teach," Studies in Adult Education, No. 2, 1971, 10 pages, published by Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar Es Salaam, P.O. Box 20679, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Talk delivered there on Sept. 15, 1971. "I think that adult education in Tanzania should have as one of its main tasks to invite people to believe in themselves. It should invite people to believe they have knowledge... What is fundamental in the literacy process, if our choice is a liberating one, is to invite people to discover that the importance for them is not to read alienated histories but to make history."

(48) Video tapes were made of a two day workshop with Freire at Fordham Feb. 26-27, 1972 and of two subsequent lectures: "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed," on Feb. 29 and "Educational Innovations in the Developed World," on March 2. Video and audio copies may be available, plus a list of the 93 participants with their addresses and Freire-related activities. Write Fordham University Forum at Lincoln Center, New York, N.Y. 10023. Or write George Tukel, Dept. of Anthropology, State University College, New Palz, New York 12561. The audio-cassettes he made are understandable most of the time, which is more than we can say for ours. For a report on this workshop see Item # 94.

## PART III: BOOKS WITH REFERENCES TO FREIRE

(49) Colonnese, Louis, editor. Conscientization for Liberation. For more on this see Item # 46. In addition to Freire's chapter the book contains: "The Latin American Man and His Revolution," by Luis Ambroggio; "Method for Cultural Awareness," by Rafael Legaria; "Currents and Tendencies in Contemporary Latin American Catholicism," by Cesar Aguiar; " A Latin American Perception of a Theology of Liberation," by Gustavo Gutierrez; "The Latin American Church Since Medellin," by Samuel Ruiz Garcia; "North American Perceptions of the Influence and Inspiration of the Post-Medellin Latin American Church," by Louis M. Colonnese; "A North American Perception of a Theology of Liberation," by Helen C. Volkomener; "Education and Conscientization," by Ernani Fiori; "From Schooling to Conscientization," by John DeWitt; "From the Mobilization of Human Resources to the Creation of a Human Society," by Julio de Santa Ana; "Aseptic Neutrality: American Behaviorism," by James Petras; "Toward

a New Policy for Latin America," by Frank Church; "Economic Aspects of the Latin American Crisis," by Marcos Kaplan; "Latin America in the Third World of the World," by Luis A Gomez de Souza; and "From Medellin to Militancy: The Church in Ferment," by Philip Wheaton.

(50) de Kadt, Emanuel. Catholic Radicals in Brazil. London: Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1. 1970. 304 pages. $10.25. "Freire has no use for adult education which is not based on whole-hearted respect of teacher for student, which does not start from the idea that education must make man aware of his freedom in the world - his possibility of choice and option - and stimulate a critical attitude towards the world. Incitement to revolt was never Freire's direct objective as an educator, though democratization was; thus he rejected authoritarian methods in education, the social palliative of 'assistencialismo' (welfarism), and the stifling of political expression through 'massificao.'" Catholic Radicals in Brazil does not mention Paulo Freire or conscientization in great detail. However, it does help the reader to understand the political climate out of which conscientization was born. It also gives background information on the precursor movements of conscientization.

(51) Goulet, Denis. The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development. New York: Atheneum, 1971. 362 pages. $ 12.50. "The Cruel Choice focuses on the moral dilemmas posed by development, aid, technological transfers, and world institutions which can either domesticate the Third World or create a new future for those presently alienated in abundance no less than for those still shackled by misery. Its theme, in short, is the human condition, in 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' societies alike." (Excerpted from the book jacket.) From text: "Working through adult-literacy programs, community-development projects, or land-reform efforts, Freire assists pre-conscious groups to become aware of who they are and what their social situation is. The people very rapidly conclude that their condition is an affront to human dignity. As they look about them with a critical spirit, they begin to understand that their lot in life is not dictated by gods, fate or natural laws. On the contrary, it is the product of changeable human arrangements. During the process of discovering who they are, peasants, urban slum-dwellers, simple fishermen, artisans, and housewives reflect, often with a sense of awe, on their own 'cultural' achievements. They are obviously able to make tools, however rudimentary, to tame nature and protect themselves from enemies. They can also fashion instruments with which to exercise mastery over living beings -- slingshots or arrows for hunting purposes, nets for fishing, and agricultural tools to grow food. Eventually it 'dawns upon them' that they themselves are cultural agents, that cultural tools can be used to domesticate animals and

that in society men can create certain kinds of 'cultural instruments' enabling them to control other men."

(52) Illich, Ivan. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1971. 116 pages. $ 5.95. "Since 1962 my friend Freire has moved from exile to exile, mainly because he refuses to conduct his sessions around words which are preselected by approved educators, rather than those which his discussants bring to the class."

(53) Kozol, Jonathan. Free Schools. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972. $ 4.95. 146 pages. "Some of the most intelligent and inspired writing on this subject (reading) has been done by the Brazilian scholar, Paulo Freire. The heart of his method has to do with the learner's recognition of a body of words that are associated with the most intense and potentially explosive needs and yearnings of his own life... Freire's methods are inherently political. I doubt, therefore, that they can be applied in public schools without immediate repercussions. They are, however, ideal materials for use and application in the free schools."

(54) Levine, Daniel U. and Robert J. Havighurst, editors. Farewell to Schools???? Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971. 104 pages $ 2.95. paperback. (Order from Jones Publishing Co., at 698 High St., Worthington, Ohio 43085). This has just been published under the auspices of the National Society for the Study of Education in its Contemporary Educational Issues Series. It consists of four excerpts from writings by Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman, Everett Reimer and Carl Bereiter with responses to these excerpts from Amitai Etzioni, Maxine Breene, Robert J. Havighurst, Philip W. Jackson, John Ohliger, Mortimer Smith, and Peter H. Wagschal. Havighurst: "To be sure, educational opportunity is less in Latin America, even in the more developed countries, than it should be. But Illich's technique is to ascribe the worst-appearing facts falsely to all of Latin America, and then to ask for revolutionary changes in all of Latin America. There is no concreteness to his proposals for educational change in Latin America, except for his approval of the personal methods of Paulo Freire in teaching illiterate adults, methods which have not been adapted to more general use by other educators. I favor an extension of Freire's methods, if this proves practicable, and also the liberal political measures of social and land reform which Illich's writing would imply that he also favors. But I would opt for systematic extension of the free and obligatory school system, which is not nearly as costly as Illich suggests."

(55) MacEoin, Gary. Revolution Next Door: Latin America in the 1970's New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971. 243 pages. paperback $ 2.95. While Revolution Next Door does not deal in great detail with Freire and conscientization, for those interested in the

Latin American situation it is a powerful and revealing account. "The ruling classes have always thought of the common people as animals. The privileged minority lives with the subliminal fear that 'they' will come down out of the mountains 'and kill us all.' Nothing is more terrifying for the wealthy than the idea that the urban and rural poor, totally proletarianized for centuries, are acquiring a class consciousness. One of the first things the right-wing military dictatorship did when it seized power in Brazil in 1964, was to proscribe the Freire method and exile its author. ... The Paulo Freire instructional methods can stimulate adults to learn to read in a few weeks, something previously believed impossible. But, as also noted, it must first stir them to a political awareness that they are victims of a situation of injustice, and this has understandably gotten the method into trouble."

(56) Ohliger, John and Colleen McCarthy. Lifelong Learning or Lifelong Schooling?: A Tentative View of the Ideas of Ivan Illich with a Quotational Bibliography. Syracuse: S.U. Publications in Continuing Education, 1971. 96 pages. $ 1.50 from Syracuse University Library of Continuing Education, 107 Roney Lane, Syracuse, New York 13210. Includes two pages on Freire's influence on Illich and Everett Reimer, 61 items on or by Illich, Reimer, or Freire, and 96 items dealing with generally related topics. Illich: "(Freire is) my master and my teacher." Reimer: "(Freire is now) safely and unhappily insulated from the poor and uneducated masses of the world."

(57) Reimer, Everett. School Is Dead: Alternatives in Education. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1971. 215 pages. $ 5.95. "People are schooled to accept a society. They are educated to create or re-create one. Education has the meaning here that deep students of education and of human nature have always given it. None has defined it better than Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, who describes it as becoming critically aware of one's reality in a manner that leads to effective action upon it. An educated man understands his world well enough to deal with it effectively. Such men, if they existed in sufficient numbers, would not leave the absurdities of the present world unchanged."

## PART IV: REVIEWS OF FREIRE'S BOOKS

(59) "Education as Instrument of Liberation," Communio Viatorum, Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 1969. Review of Educacao como Practica da Liberdade (Item # 17). "Some critics of the (Freire) method, without negating the basic values of the method, suggest the necessity of making certain adjustments in order for it to become an effective instrument for the politization of the literate masses. They point out the necessity of a theoretical basis which would permit this political awareness which tends toward social

transformation, something which the method has lacked up to now. Perhaps this deficiency can be overcome by a more profound explication of the method by its creator. For this, we eagerly await the publication of a secondvolume now in preparation, entitled, A Pedagogy of the Oppressed." (Reprinted from I.S.A.L. - Abstracts, Vol. 1, No. 3, Montevideo, Uruguay.)

(60) Elford, George. "The Toll of Oppression - Dehumanization," Momentum, Vol. 2, Oct. 1971, p. 48. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35). "Last July the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky., got together as a community to spell out what they are all about. They identified four criteria they would use to evaluate their work: the alleviation of poverty, the combating of racism, the humanization of values, and the promotion of peace. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire does not tell the Sisters of Charity or similar groups specifically how to carry out their program. However, he does offer valuable insights to those who work toward such educational goals... By quoting Mao-Tse-Tung, Lenin, Regis Debray, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, along with sympathetic Catholics, Freire gently reminds the Sisters of Charity that in their redirected apostolate they will run into some interesting new faces." Father Elford is Director of Research at NCEA.

(61) Evans, John Whitney. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35) and four other books by other authors, America, Vol. 124, March 13, 1971, pp. 271-272. "Those who have bemoaned American Catholicism's dependence upon European Thomistic, existentialist, or phenomenologist thought may find in Freire an evaluation of realism and pragmatism which better rationalizes the ideals and capabilities of their condition."

(62) Foy, Rena. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35). Educational Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3/4, 1971, pp. 92-93. Foy is with Bowling Green University. "It is often illogical and inconsistent, but always thought provoking... One suspects that in Freirian pedagogy, as in Socratic dialogues and Maoist cadre training, the more informed and disciplined mind of the teacher is still in control... Freire's method appears to be effective if not altogether honest."

(63) Friedenberg, Edgar Z. "Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed," (Item # 35). Comparative Education Review. Vol. 15, No. 3, October, 1971, pp. 378-380. "There is certainly no honor to be gained by putting down a work so well-intentioned and generally well-received. But there is a certain satisfaction, for this is, in the English version at least, a truly bad book, even judged on terms, the author would, if consistent, have to accept... The book's essential viewpoint and it's weaknesses: the pedantic style, the consistent understatement of the opposition - 'moralistic

educators,' indeed; if it were only that simple! - and the very peculiar avoidance of Freire's own extensive experience as a source of illustrative material, in preference for fragments of published work... And the American reader intent, like Freire, on using education as a subversive activity has an array of sharper and more comprehensive sources at his disposal."

(64) Harman, David. "Methodology for Revolution," Saturday Review, June 19, 1971, pp. 54-55. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35). "The insistence, throughout the book, upon violent revolution as the only solution to oppression tends to obscure some of the more salient ideas pertaining to education and pedagogy. This is, perhaps, the book's greatest weakness... (This book) in effect, should not be read as a 'revolutionary pedagogy' but, rather, as a pedagogy for revolution." Harman is an associate in education at the Center for Studies in Education and Development, Harvard University.

(65) Kneen, Brewster. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed ( Item # 35) The Canadian Forum, July-August, 1971, pp. 29-31. "Paulo Freire protests that he is no theologian, but I don't believe him. A great many Christians still claim that there is an irreconcilable conflict between Marxist analysis and methodology and the Christian faith. I don't believe them either. They should read and meditate on Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed... In reading Freire, one begins to suspect that education as socialization and the transferral of 'knowledge' ought to be anathema to the Christian and that there is a much deeper bond between Marxist methodology and Christian faith than we have really begun to admit, East or West."

(66) Knudson, Rozanne. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35). Library Journal, Vol. 96, April 1, 1971, p. 1261. "His serious, urgent tone in this book reveals a crusader who, after the good fight stands ready to generalize his theories and strategies to all 'oppressed.' Yet his words are curiously unmoving, and we must be moved to join the battle. We really never get up close to these oppressed. Who are they? (Freire's definition seems to be 'anyone who is not an oppressor.') Vagueness, redundancies, tautologies, endless repetitions provoke boredom, not action; Freire and his translator (Myra Bergman Ramos) are guilty of each... Freire's organization is so chaotic that the oppressor, presumably the intended reader, will find the going difficult." Knudson is with the Dept. of English and Education, York College of the City University of New York.

(67) Maccoby, Michael. "Literacy for the Favelas," Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35) and Cultural Action for Freedom (Item # 34), Science, Vol. 172, May 14, 1971, pp. 671-673. Maccoby is with the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. "Freire's approach is in many ways similar to the methods and

aims of psychoanalysis, although there are also important differences. Indeed, he often describes the process of conscientization as a form of social psychoanalysis, particularly similar to that of Erich Fromm, whom he cites frequently in Pedagogy of the Oppressed. This comparison can be useful in considering the problem of educating the teachers to apply Freire's methods. This is particularly crucial to the practice of conscientization, since Freire's method might attract many pedagogues who are seeking a new ideology."

(68) MacEoin, Gary. "The New Game Plan for Latin America," Review of Conscientization for Liberation (Item # 49). National Catholic Reporter, Feb. 19, 1971, p. 10. "The 'conscientizers' have gradually discovered that the technique is needed and works not only for illiterate peasants but for the highly educated citizens of advanced countries who have accepted unquestionably the values of the consumer society. ....In addition to Freire and Gutierrez, 14 other specialists develop complementary aspects of the subject ....John J. DeWitt of Boston University challenges the assumption 'that we North Americans are experiencing democracy' as 'not only false, but insidiously so.' ....From all the other excellent contributions I single out one because it dramatizes the point that this book is not only for Latin American specialists but for everyone concerned about the United States and what it is doing to itself. The title is 'Asceptive Neutrality: American Behaviorism'; the author, political scientist James Petras; the subject, the power structures of New Haven, Conn. I recommend it as a first lesson in conscientization for the highly educated citizens of this advanced country."

(69) Philadelphia Adult Basic Education Academy Newsletter. Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35), April, 1972. Published at 3723 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. "The question about Freire's work we have is--can it (as literacy rather than as revolution) be reasonably put into practice here? Freire's reply would be that even if we could pick out parts from his work, we would thereby simply be making the current system more efficiently traditional."

(70) Scott, Isaac. "Adapting by Educating the Man," Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Last Post, Vol. II, No. 2, date ?, p. 41. Publisher's address: Box 98, Station G, Montreal 130, Quebec, Canada. "What is new is Freire's insistence that cognizance is only the first step. It is not enough to perceive the reality of one's situation. One must push the investigation to its logical conclusion and decide how he will act to change things ..... Freire's methodology is sketchy, and this is one criticism of the book. But a group of social animators have adapted it for use in one of Montreal's poor communities."

(71) Winter, Gibson. "A Process of Liberation," Review of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Item # 35), The Christian Century, Vol. 88, June 2, 1971, p. 701. "Freire's project seems so innocent that one wonders how it could call forth such a violent response from the Brazilian authorities... This pedagogy is a dynamic process of liberation. To write of it poses a threat to it, for it can become formal and lifeless in this textual form. No one is more conscious of this debasement of 'conscientizacao' than Paulo Freire himself - who will probably now have to go back and forth in the world demythologizing both himself and his liberative pedagogy. Freire believes in human life and will, in communion and critical awareness. He has little use for the lifeless pedagogy of texts and ivory tower 'critiques'."

## PART V : JOURNAL AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES, UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, SPEECHES, TAPES, ETC., ON FREIRE

(72) Apps, Jerold W. "Tomorrow's Adult Educator - Some Thoughts and Questions," Adult Education, Vol. XXII, No. 3, Spring, 1972 pp. 218-26. Published by AEA of the USA, 810 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Apps is Professor of Agriculture and Extension Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison. "What is an educator's purpose? To pass on 'knowledge'?.... Unfortunately there are thousands of educators, adult educators included, who practice what Freire calls the 'banking concept'. The prevailing attitude is that I have something you don't and my responsibility as an educator is to see that you get it."

(73) Arruda, Marcus. Source # 12 writes: "I taped an interview last month (February, 1972) with Marcus Arruda, a Brazilian, who was imprisoned in Brazil and the tape is about Marcus's use of Freire's methods with workers he was involved with. I am in the process of typing this taped interview."

(74) Bono, Gus. "An Illiterate's Dream," Maryknoll, Sept. 1971. Received reference from Source # 12.

(75) Boston, Bruce. "Conscientization and Christian Education," Colloquy, Vol. 5, No. 5, May, 1972, pp. 36-42. Single issues fifty cents from Division of Publication - Periodical Dept., United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, 1505 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Boston is a member of the Philadelphia Theological Community. For information see Source # 11. "True freedom cannot come by prescription, nor is it a gift of the oppressor; it comes by conquest... Christian educators who wish to take Freire seriously will need to turn their minds to mutual exploration of the learner's world, encouraging the learner to own his or her experience, and to move beyond it to new points of departure. The educator has nothing to give the learner in regard to knowledge or experience. What educator and learner together have is

the opportunity to create new knowledge and experience which is liberating for both... Taking Freire seriously will mean that Christian educators will have to abandon curricula once and for all. In their place will come a program of teaching-learning-action generated out of the lives of the participants themselves. Raw human experience will be the syllabus. Dialogical education will be the method. Transformation of human life and the world will be the goal."

(76) Chomsky, Carol. "Write First, Read Later," Childhood Education, March, 1971, pp. 296-299. Chomsky is a linguist who is Institute Scholar, Radcliffe Institute, and Research Associate, Harvard Graduate School of Education. "If the word is to be 'born of the creative effort of the learner,' as Paulo Freire so aptly describes, it cannot be 'deposited' in his mind. Children's minds, at four, five, six are far from linguistic empty space into which reading information is to be poured. What I propose is that children be permitted to be active participants in teaching themselves to read. In fact, they ought to direct the process... In a school setting, there is no reason that this approach can't be utilized, if the teacher is interested in having the child 'assume from the beginning the role of creative subject (Freire, 1970)'."

(77) Clasby, Miriam. "Education as a Tool for Humanization and The Work of Paulo Freire," Living Light, Vol. 8, Spring, 1971, pp. 48-59. Magazine published at 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. "The discussion-group pattern which is central to Freire's approach has become familiar in the United States, as has the concern with starting with concrete situations. Problematization and dialogue, then, are current practice in many educational circles, both in schools and adult groups. The new dimension which Freire adds to this pattern is a philosophical anthropology-a view of man as creator as well as carrier of culture. This means that the dialogue is not merely an exchange of views with one another, or an effort to become more open to other positions, but an opportunity to clarify one's own level of perception, to make it an object of examination, to break through the boundaries of one's position, each time to a new level of awareness."

(78) Coggins, Chere S. "An Ecounter with Paulo Freire's Conscientization," May 17, 1972, 16 pages. A paper describing the attempts of students in a graduate seminar on the philosophy of adult education to apply Freire's concepts to their own academic situation. The three meetings resulted in proposals and action to change their own graduate program. Item received from Professor Jerold Apps, Dept. of Agricultural and Extension Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 208 Agriculture Hall, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

(79) Colins, Colin B. "Man Names the World: A Study in Paulo Freire's

Theory of Knowledge and Its Relationship to Adult Literacy,"1972. Unpublished paper. 39 pages. Colins is a former Episcopal priest who worked with colleagues in South Africa to implement Freire's ideas. He can be reached c/o Dept. of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor St., W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. "His thoughts are not expressed neatly in propositions which are then compared to other propositions, conclusions deduced in strict logical sequence. His style of thinking almost seems to go in different directions at the same time..... this dynamic interchange between reflection and action is perhaps one of the main reasons why Freire's thinking sometimes seems to be repetitive or seems to be obtuse.... There are also some difficulties that I have with the Adult Literacy Programme, particularly as it depends upon the notion of codification and decodification.... The questions that to me are not adequately explained are the following: the formation of categories, the dialogue between categories is not described, the return to praxis."

(81) DeWitt, John J. "Notes taken as seminar participant at a Cultural Action Seminar, conducted by Paulo Freire and sponsored by the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, Cambridge, Mass., 1969." Reference in bibliography of Item # 130.

(82) Diuguid, Lewis H. "Brazil Wages Two-Pronged War on Illiteracy," The Washington Post, December 20, 1970, Section D3. Source is bibliography in Item # 83, which adds "This article contrasts the present efforts to bring about adult literacy with the efforts of Freire and the MEB."

(83) Elias, John L. "Adult Literacy Education in Brazil - 1961-1964: Metodo Paulo Freire," Unpublished paper, 1972. 29 pages. For information on Elias see Item # 131. "In the short time of its existence, the Freire method gathered substantial momentum. Although, according to de Kadt, at the time of its repression in 1964, it was still characterized by potential rather than actual achievements, by promise rather than realization.... It seems to me that at least in the beginning, Freire did not view his method as a political tool. He did not, however, promote literacy for its own sake. He saw it as bringing about the democratization of culture among the urban and rural illiterates of Brazil. ... Few people believe that adult education is serious educational business. The academic community is still somewhat suspicious of anyone past adolescence who wants to learn. When education is seen as separate from learning and as a life-long process, then the thought of Freire might receive a more sympathetic understanding from educators....One will see little relevance for his pedagogy if America is viewed as the great society. His theory will be viewed as untransferrable to our situation if our political, economic, and social institutions are seen as offering unlimited promise for the meeting of material needs, the establishment of justice, and the

cultivation of the good life."

(84) Epstein, Erwin H. "Blessed Be the Oppressed - And Those Who Can Identify with Them: A Critique of Paulo Freire's Conscientizacao." Paper presented at a meeting of the American Educational Studies Association in Chicago, Feb. 23, 1972. See Item #86, 7 pages. "Because of its emphasis on changing consciousness, *conscientizacao* is more like missionary proselitization than pedagogy... To call the leaders coordinators, initiators, or organizers is Freire's futile way of suggesting that the masses are solely responsible for their own liberation, and therein lies the vulnerability of *conscientizacao*. It is that Freire is unable to reconcile satisfactorily the condition of peasants having to rely on themselves for their loss of ignorance with their having to be made aware of their state of oppression... Freire is incapable of admitting failure. He assumes that dialogue and problem posing are sufficient to generate the liberation process, a process that, once in motion, cannot fail to succeed. This is because man inherently seeks liberation, and all that is required for man to become free is for this quality to be aroused. Hence, failure (i.e. the non-attainment of liberation) must be attributed not to the peasants but to the 'coordinators', in their evidently incorrect engagement of *conscientizacao*... *Conscientizacao* is cultural invasion, because it imposes a world view from without. It is initiated by Freire's coordinators, who are the 'subjects', to 'arouse' the peasants who are the 'objects' ... The oppressive quality in *conscientizacao* arises not from the mechanics of the process, but from Freire's restraint in setting boundaries of application. Were he to indicate that the method is to apply only to peasants tormented by poverty and exploitation and ignorant of available avenues of action - as would be the case throughout much of Latin America--the objections raised in this critique would be less valid. Yet as it stands his universalism is threatening to the cultural integrity of groups such as the Amish in the United States and perhaps countless Indian tribes in the Amazon Basin, whose ignorance, quaint religion, and lack of material possessions plausibly belie their contentment and well-being."

(85) Gannon, Thomas M. "Conscientization - A Word to Remember," *The Serran*, June, 1970, p. 5, Source # 13. "Conscientization is neither an easy word to pronounce nor an easy concept to define. Developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, it signifies the emergence into self-awareness, into political and social consciousness, of those who have previously lacked such awareness and such consciousness..... A sure sign of the impact that conscientization has had is that the repressive regimes have tried to put it down. Because it has effectively mobilized people, it is a threat to the power structure."

(86) Greene, Maxine. "An Educational Philosopher Looks at Paulo

Freire," 5 pages. Paper presented at a meeting of the American Educational Studies Association on the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois, February 23, 1972. Professor Greene of Teachers College, Columbia (Source # 4), organized this meeting on Freire. She informs us that the papers (Items # 84, 117, 120, 127 and others) are about to be published. She has given us (Source # 9) two cassette tapes of the symposium which we will be glad to dub at cost. The A.E.S.A. is composed primarily of professors of educational foundations or educational philosophy in colleges of education. "I see in the work of Paulo Freire many implications for a phenomenological approach to the teaching of teachers-to-be....I read Freire as a phenomenologist because of the stress he places upon consciousness and the importance of each individual becoming aware of his own life-world."

(87) Illich, Ivan and John Cogley. Yesterday I Could Not Sleep Because Yesterday I Wrote My Name. Audio-tape. 42 minutes, 9 seconds. Order as Tape # 299 from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, P.O. Box 4446, Santa Barbara, California 93103. Price: $ 7.50. Available either on five-inch 3 3/4 i.p.s. half track tapes or on cassettes. Free study guide available with tape on request. On part of the tape Illich presents his view of Freire and of his adult literacy activities. Illich: "Paulo Freire, I consider as my teacher....Of course, Paulo Freire today is an exile as practically every adult educator in Latin America at this moment is in exile or in jail or some other way restrained ....Education is a political concept....Fundamental education is the key to control of political power."

(88) Isaacs, Charles. "The Praxis of Paulo Freire: A Critical Interpretation," to be published in the 1971-72 issue of Critical Anthropology, 25 pages in draft. Available when published at $ 1.00 from the editors of the magazine, New School for Social Research 65 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003. "Freire's brief discussion casts the limit-situation in such an optimistic light that it seems in danger of losing its meaning....By criticizing the banking system (of education) at its root, Freire departs from a significant body of revolutionary theory....The mode of production is not mentioned here at all. This is a weakness in the Freirian dialectic; he equivocates between idealism and materialism, at one point stating the primacy of the material base, and at others appearing to ignore that substructure in an elaboration of its ideal and linguistic expressions."

(89) Jerez, Cesar and Juan Hernandez-Pico. "Paulo Freire, Brazilian Adult Educator: A Review of the Literature," 33 pages. Published in Spanish in Estudios Centro Americanos, San Salvador, El Salvador, Central America, August-Sept. 1971. English translation available from Source # 9, without charge while supply lasts, four cents per page thereafter. For information on Spanish

availability or to contact authors write Cesar Jerez, S.J., Universidad Landivar, 17 Calle 8-64, Zona 10, Guatamala City, Guatamala, C.A. "In this paper discussion will center on the contribution offered by Freire to educational and political democracy in Latin America, organized as follows: 1) Background information on Freire's life; 2) The relationship between consciousness and reality under a historical approach, as viewed by Freire; 3) Methodological principles and a description of Freire's cultural action for freedom; 4) Main objections to Freire's thought and action; 5) Assessment of Freire's contribution.... A friend of ours, a Mexican university professor, who used Freire's methodology at the Universidad Autonoma de Mexico,... said, 'there they were, the students, conscientized and all, but very poorly organized and with little awareness of the need for political strategies. They launched the most serious challenge to the PRI (the all-powerful Institutional Party of the Revolution) in the Summer and Fall of 1968. Then came Tlatelolco. They were machine-gunned by the army, nobody knows how many. I had initiated the process of conscientization. But I was not massacred. I, as Freire, was 'encouraged' to leave the country. The students, the workers, and so on, they were not encouraged to leave. They are now dead and I am alive. It is more difficult to have to live with the deaths of others than to die oneself. Political strategy and a position towards revolutionary violence, a clear one, one way or the other, are unavoidable, should conscientization be any good."

(90) Juliao, Francisco. "Francisco Juliao Talks About the Peasant," (An interview distributed by Cencos, the Mexican Catholic news agency, as reprinted in the September, 1971 issue of the Mexico City quarterly, Contacto.) Translated in LADOC: II, 32b, May, 1972, 4 pages. Our source # 13. "According to U.S. sociologist Irving Horowitz, in his book Revolution in Brazil, Juliao is as important a person for Brazil as Ahmed Ben Bella is for Algeria, Kwame Nkrumah for Ghana, or Fidel Castro for Cuba..... Interviewer: Do the methods of Paulo Freire bring out the peasant's symbols? Juliao: I find a lot of truth in what a Brazilian historian has written. He says that the peasants he has known used a number of symbols other than words, that any community tends to use fewer words the more homogenous it is - and that peasant communities are extremely homogenous, though they are differentiated too, in their own way."

(91) Keelan, Mary. "Paulo Freire and the Word: The Pedagogy of the Oppressed," to appear in a 1972 issue of Cross Currents, 20 pages in draft. For information write Source # 6. "Freire devotes disproportionate but appropriate attention to his methodology. The end to correct man's distortion of his vocation to be more fully human can never be achieved by dehumanizing means."

(92) Lloyd, Arthur S. "Conscientization and American Adult Education,"

unpublished paper, August, 1971, 32 pages. For further information on Lloyd see Item # 134. "In terms of evaluation, although the results of the (Freire) literacy program are easy to assess, conscientization does not lend itself to quantitative means of evaluation... We also lack a record of the application of the conscientization method to post-literacy programs. At this point, to the best of my knowledge, it remains an untested theory... Freire criticizes the view that the 'marginal' poor are society's pathology and need restoration to and incorporation into a healthy society. As noted above, this seems implicit in the treatment given adult basic education (in the U.S.) .... the major conclusion of this paper is that conscientization is necessary to any education which sees its purpose to include democratization, such as American adult education has, and that, with the exception of militant groups, conscientization is not in fact a part of adult education in general (in the U.S.) .... Of technical interest to adult educators is the problem of evaluation. How, in fact, shall we precisely define and measure conscientization and for what purposes? How shall this be done in such a way to avoid the dangers of defining goals in behavioral terms and being tempted to promote certain kinds of behavior? These questions, though unanswered in Freire's work, are significant. For if it is to be assumed that, on the one hand, conscientization is the key to an open, democratic society, to permanent cultural revolution, then it will be necessary to find the means of training leaders to initiate such a program."

(93) MacEoin, Gary. "No Magic Pill to Ease Pain," Latin America Calls, Vol. 8, No. 8, Oct. 1971. Received reference from Source # 12.

(94) MacEoin, Gary, "Conscientization for the Masses," National Catholic Reporter, Vol. 8, No. 20, March 17, 1972, pp. 1 and 21. Report on Fordham Workshop described in Item # 48. "Freire draws constantly on his own experience, stressing that theoretical knowledge cannot bring understanding, even with goodwill. For him practical experience is essential--the testing and refinement of theories when applied to existential situations.... For years I have been searching for an instance in which peasants have broken out of their oppression, even at a local level, but I have found none. When I asked Freire, he admitted that neither has he. He was recently in Tanzania, and he told me there were interesting things happening there. President Julius Nyerere is fully commited to the peasants but he has a lot of very bourgeois people around him .... He is convinced that the dehumanization of the consumer society is very similar to that endured by the poor. The middle classes, he says, have been transformed from persons into objects and submerged in a new culture of silence. Their work and education have paralyzed their ability to participate in life and death decisions. Their life is reduced to two categories: consumption

and self-defense. Everything is programmed for them. They cannot even risk friendship, because a friend makes demands on one's time, and time is money.' "

(95) Markland, Arne. Paulo Freire: On Education and Conscientizacao. 1970. 12 pages. (For information on availability write Rev. Arne Markland, Lutheran Campus Ministry, 232 University St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.) "Freire concludes that if marginality is not by choice, then marginal man has been expelled from and kept outside the social system and is therefore the object of violence ... Conscientizacao does not attribute to consciousness the role of creating the world; rather, it recognizes the static 'given' world as a dynamic 'giving' world."

(96) Marrero, Gilbert. "Toward Love and Justice: Conscientizacion," Church and Race Memo, (Series of 1971, No. 5), 8 pp. Published by Division of Church and Race of the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. "Conscientizacion is.... a process of action/reflection leading to liberation. La Academina de la Nueva Raza, from New Mexico, has independently developed a similar process calling it 'awareness and respondability.' This term was coined by Tomas Atencio. In the Hispanic-American church and movement leadership level, but especially in nonchurch groups, great interest in this process is starting to develop.... All around the country from the Oregon 'Council of the Poor' to Hartford, Connecticut, groups of Hispanics are forming on the meaning of words and the power to use them..... We can only judge from our present situation that massive economic assistance is not the answer for the development of the oppressed. It certainly cannot come from legislation, rhetoric, church policies, etc. Liberation will come as the oppressed people, gaining new insights as to who they are, are aware of the systems (including the church) that regulate and manipulate the sources of power. Then, and only then, will society be challenged and changed."

(97) Martin, D'Arcy. "Pedagogy and Politics: Education of Adults in Latin America," English translation of article appearing in Convergence, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1971,9 pages. Request from Source # 5. From an English abstract of the article: "The political neutrality of educational planning in Latin America is denied from two points of view. The more influential of these two views is that of UNESCO and OAS experts, who look at schooling in terms of manpower planning, in terms of economic investment. However, abdication of the educator's responsibility to make value judgments permits the use of educational structures as domesticating instruments for 'development' which benefits foreign and domestic elites. The second point of view is expressed by Paulo Freire, who attacks those who speak of neutrality as being precisely those who are afraid of losing the right to use the biased nature of education in

their own favor. If adult education is to avoid becoming a mere conservatizing force, there are three imperatives for adult educators: to work with and expand voluntary popular organizations capable of unified action; to apply Freire's 'psycho-social method' for the conscientization of popular organizations - to awaken a critical social consciousness; and to introduce praxis into the learning, thus assisting conscientized organizations to act upon their perceptions and to direct their actions to the elimination of domestic as well as foreign exploitation."

(98) Martin, Mr. and Mrs. D'Arcy, translators. "INDICEP and Models of Mass Education in Latin America," draft of translation (12 pages) of article prepared by INDICEP staff which appeared in Educacion Popular para el Desarrolo, No. 6, published in Oruro, Bolivia. The translation is about to appear in Convergence (See Source #5). D'Arcy Martin (Source #8) writes: "I don't know how familiar you are with the work done by INDICEP in Oruro.... In my own opinion, it is the most sophisticated and accurate application of Freire's philosophy to be found in Latin America.... By the way, there are no issues of this magazine (Educacion Popular ...) after No. 6, since it was closed down by the Banzer regime when Torres was overthrown last year.... I have translations of all the articles from that issue, none of which are available elsewhere in English to my knowledge." For more information on Martin see Item #135. In this article, the staff of INDICEP defines the position of its educational research in relation to the major currents of pedagogical theory in Latin America, and describes how the concept of "Dinamizacion Cultural" arose from the needs and problems of work in Bolivia.

(99) McFadden, John. Report on Course: Community Education as Cultural Action. 1971. 15 pages. May be available at $1.50 from John McFadden, 8213 Bertal Street, Lamont, California 93241. "Winter quarter, 1970, I coordinated a course called 'Community Education as Cultural Action.' (at the University of California at Santa Cruz) The main question for the course was: Does the thought of Paulo Freire have applicability outside the Third World and in advanced technological society?... The experience of the course demonstrated that Freire's method not only applies to the illiterate and economically exploited, it also belongs to the literate who are expressing the fact of their own exploitation and oppression in other ways.... It should be pointed out, however, that there is a serious contradiction between this way of education (the Freire method) and the university as 'school.' The grading, degree granting, body-of-knowledge-accreting functions of the school-university are irrelevant to this type of education. Through this experience it became clear to us how Freire's ideas can be practically educative at any level. The quarter started as a course in teaching the (Freire) method to

other future educators who would use it for community education among the more powerless groups in our society. The students turned it around and demanded the time for themselves and their own conscientization." In a letter to us responding to our request for this report, McFadden wrote: "I still believe Freire education is very close to life, but very far from what we usually think of as school - and for that reason exceptionally difficult to 'adapt.' I myself have gone to work for Cezar Chavez and the farmworkers, because I find that in this environment - of organizing, where the education is a reflection on the problems the farmworkers are having - and where it takes place in the field and at home in small groups, there is more opportunity to do a certain kind of education than in the usual educational institution." This fall McFadden plans to complete a paper describing his activities with the farmworkers.

(100) Ohliger, John. Use of Mass Media in Higher Adult Education. Talk delivered to the Ohio Council on Higher Continuing Education, March 18, 1971, Columbus, Ohio. 11 pages including a 47 item bibliography. Attempts to apply some of Freire's ideas to cable television. Copy available for $ .44 (four cents a page) from Source # 9.

(101) Ohliger, John. "Adult Education for Social Action." A talk presented to the Central Ohio Adult Education Association, Columbus, Ohio, March 24, 1971. 8 pages plus a 4 page bibliography. "What should be the nature of the educational alternative? First, it's clear that the alternative must be a revolutionary one. Patching up and reforming the present system simply isn't going to work. We shouldn't be afraid of that word 'revolution.' It's part of our great American heritage.... In fact the more revolutionary the program, the more successful educationally it is likely to be, as long as we can avoid sectarianism.... I suspect the reason most of us shy away from the word 'revolution' is because it implies risk and conflict. But we must ask ourselves, Are we willing to 'risk the future on the educability of man?' And we must begin to recognize that conflict is an inevitable component of any worthwhile adult education program for social action.... There is no doubt that those who carry out effective adult education programs for social action get into trouble. It would be surprising if they didn't. Freire was exiled. Ivan Illich, when a monsignor in the Catholic Church, was called to Rome for a modern form of the inquisition. Warren Haggstrom, when a professor at Syracuse University, had his program shot out from under him, when the poor people he worked with, marched on the mayor's office. Saul Alinsky wrote most of his famous book on community development education, Reveille for Radicals, while he was in various jails because of his early action-education activities." Copy available for $ .48 (four cents a page) from Source # 9.

(102) Ohliger, John. "The Great American Dream Machine," Program Review in Educational Broadcasting Review, (Volume 5, No. 2, April 1971), pp. 57-59. "How could Great American Dream Machine be improved? Do I have the answer? No. But I do have a clue... Paulo Freire points out that it is man's ability to reflect on the fact of his reflection that starts him on the tough path to true and valuable education. William C. Woods, reviewing GADM in the Washington Post, states that it 'seems to start from the premise that the thing to do with the way television diminishes, refocuses, and disjoints experience is not to hide from it, but to capitalize on it.' Combine Freire's and Wood's thoughts and you see the great promise of GADM as exemplified in the French Chef take-off.... Freire calls for educators to identify 'generative themes' through a process of co-investigation with the people as they perceive their world - in this case the co-investigation would concentrate on the people's perception of their world as seen through television. The identification of such themes and their presentation on GADM, in what Freire labels a 'problem-posing situation,' might well serve to help start, what he calls, 'the dialogue of education (leading to) the permanent transformation of reality in favor of the liberation of men.'" Copy available for $ .12 (four cents a page) from Source # 9.

(103) Park School Community Council Brief. "Class Bias in Toronto Schools," This Magazine Is About Schools, Vol. 5, No. 4, Fall-Winter 1971. Received reference from Source # 12.

(104) "Paulo Freire." English translation of article appearing in Convergence, Vol. III, No. 3, 1970. 11 pages. Translation on request from Source # 5. Abstracted from a report of the American Universities Field Staff, Inc., by Thomas G. Sanders, and from Terre Souterre, Paris, March-April, 1969. "Observers in Latin America no longer think of learning to read as acquiring mere technical skill, but as a process implying values, forming mentalities and leading to social and political consequences. The chief intellectual architect of this change is a Brazilian named Paulo Freire."

(105) Read, Charles. "Pre-School Children's Knowledge of English Phonology," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No. 1, Feb. 1971. Received reference from Source # 12.

(106) Reimer, Everett. "Second Annual Report of the Seminar on Alternatives in Education," Cidoc Documenta, 69/167, Sept. 1969. 23 pages. Original Source # 1, Our Source # 11. "The Freire method is not limited to teaching literacy, however, nor to teaching peasants, though there is more concrete experience in these areas than in others. In principle, the method is not restricted to teaching adults, although it may enjoy more relative advantage with adults than with children. In essence, the method is to teach

what is most relevant to the student's needs and to discover this relevance with modern research and with the aid of the student. Adult students may be able to participate more effectively in this process than children, but this remains to be proved. Reality may be more significant to adults than to children, but this could also be false, or, if true, could be based on the unreal world in which adults force children to live."

(107) Reimer, Everett. A videotape interview (about 25 minutes) conducted in early 1970 by J. Roby Kidd, Professor, Dept. of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. It is on one inch Sony tape. Our Source # 5. Part of the tape deals with Reimer's view of Freire as "the greatest living educator in the world today."

(108) Reimer, Everett. "Does The Shoe Fit? A Background Piece on the 'Silent Majority' " America. Vol. 23, No. 3 (January 23, 1970), pp. 69-70. "As an educator, Freire is mainly concerned with educational means of freeing men from the bondage of the culture of silence. Not all so-called education has this result. While education for freedom will make men aware of their fatalistic posture towards reality such education implies unveiling reality, - demythologizing it - education for domestication will insist upon keeping men alienated. Because of this, the first is a humanist action, and the second is action for dehumanization. Thus, education for domestication cannot hide its necrophiliac character."

(109) Rodhe, Birgit. "New Educational Perspectives," Religious Education, Vol. LXVI, Nov.-Dec. 1971, No. 6. Contains seven articles based on papers presented at the Assembly of the World Council of Christian Education, July, 1971 at Huampani, near Lima, Peru. Freire played an important role in this conference. Other authors are Jose Miguez Bonino, Paul Verghese, Ivan Illich, Patricio Cariola, Federico J. Pagura, and Clifford J. Wright. Available at $2.50 from The Religious Education Association, 545 West 111th St., New York, New York 10025. Birgit Rodhe: "A further variety (of literacy education), at the same time meaning a new beginning in the history of literacy, is the concept of conscientization, meaning learning to read and write as a kind of by-product of becoming aware, conscious of one's own life situation in a manner which leads to effective action on it. This, in every context, would seem to be the true meaning of a concept of lifelong education.... In the Bergen consultation, organized by the Office of Education of the World Council of Churches in May 1970, the Latin American group stated: 'All education must start from a serious concern for change in the fundamental structures of society.' This should not mean, however, that change in education would have to wait until the structures of society were fundamentally changed... One thinks, of course, of

Paulo Freire's idea, that education is never neutral; it either domesticates or liberates. Even when it liberates, it ends up somehow - when not domesticating - in shaping some ideal, some doctrine. We are constantly faced with the dilemma that was already Rousseau's and before him Plato's: how to free the child yet shape it, how to free the child from indoctrination into a kind of society that we want to change and yet to shape it for the fight for freedom and for change."

(110) Sanders, Thomas G. "The Paulo Freire Method: Literacy Training and Conscientizacion," American Universities Field Staff Report, West Coast South America Series, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Chile), 1968. 18 pages. Available at $1.00 from American Universities Field Staff, Inc., 366 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Reprinted in part in Item # 104. Sanders is a faculty associate of the AUFS on leave from Brown University, where he is Associate Professor of Religious Studies. "Conscientization rests upon certain value assumptions that have not received much implementation in Latin America: the equality of all men, their right to knowledge and culture, and their right to criticize their situation and act upon it.... Properly understood and applied, conscientization has no predictable directions. Although it does not prescribe politization, its content of dignity, criticism and transformation almost inevitably leads to a quest for channels of effective action.... One of the most common criticisms is that the co-ordinators do not themselves achieve a sufficient change from their former paternalistic attitudes to internalize the spirit of the method."

(111) Shaull, Richard. "National Development and Social Revolution." Sept. 1967. 10 pages. Distributed by Latin America Dept., Div. of Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. "Within the framework of a Christian humanist philosophy, he (Freire) is concerned with the question of how the depressed masses can move toward full human existence as persons. This, he believes, can happen only as they are enabled to cut the umbilical cord with nature and with a sacralized social order and thus discover themselves as participants in a concrete historical process open to the future.... As this method was put into practice by students, priests and others, extraordinary things began to happen. The traditional lethargy of the dispossessed gave way to dynamic initiatives for social change. Through the development of 'popular culture,' a way was found to liberate people from the dominance of irrational and magical attitudes."

(112) "South Africa Freedom Conference: Workshop on Paulo Freire's Method," WSCF Newsletter, date?, 3 pages. Available at $ .12 (four cents per page) from Source # 9. "The University Christian Movement held its conference 'Freedom 71' from July 9-16, 1971

at Camp Jonathan, Eston.... Ross Kidd addressed the group on the work done in Swaziland based on Paulo Freire method.... Hodgkins (in 1923) said: 'Men better be without education, than be educated by their rulers'."

(113) "Subversion Through Catholic Education," CIF Reports, date? Reprinted in CIDOC English Periodical Service, April 16-30, 1964. From Bibliography in Item # 130.

(114) Timmel, Sally. If Paulo Freire Would be Called into a School System as a Consultant. 4 pages, date? A proposal for a project based on title. Our Source # 10.

(115) Tyson, Brady. "The Freedom Movement and Conscientization," IDOC International - North American Edition, No. 19, Feb. 1971, pp. 3-15. $1.95 from IDOC % Service Center, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237. Tyson, who lived for five years in Brazil, lectures on Latin America in the Political Science Dept., American University, Washington, D.C. "Revolutionary leadership must be based on a community, not on a personality. There is thus a distinction between charismatic leaders who create a new dependence (and therefore a new cultural alienation) and 'symbolic men' who embody in themselves the inarticulate aspirations of the people. The 'symbolic man' does not need and does not seek to have people dependent on him, but offers himself as a model of a servant to the community in its search for authenticity and creativity. The 'symbolic man' does not presume to lead the people like sheep, but rather dares to be a symbol of what every person can be by daring to be free.... For this reason it is essential that the symbolic man be seen as human as anyone else, but free. He will thus discourage all attempts by others to follow him as a leader - seeking freedom and integrity in a vicarious way."

(116) Unknown Paris letter. Source # 12 writes: "I have a letter describing Freire's method with no title and the author listed as 'unknown Paris letter'."

(117) Urban, Wayne J. "Comments on Paulo Freire," paper presented at a meeting of AESA on Feb. 23, 1972. 10 pages. See Item # 86. Urban is Associate Professor, Dept. of Educational Foundations, Georgia State University. "I think that Freire generalizes an historical model of revolution from his own experience in a particular context. Although his account (in Pedagogy of the Oppressed) is, as pointed out in the forward, rooted in an historical context, it does not help in understanding either revolutions or education in general.... The rankest absurdity, however, is the application of Freire's analysis to the young middle class students in this country... When the blue collar people learn how to read and write, the middle classes have moved to keep the gap between themselves and the others by turning to notions of feeling."

(118) Vaz, Henrique C. de Lima. "The Church and Conscientizacao," America, April 27, 1968, pp. 578-581. "Initially, conscientizacao was something strictly pedagogical, a technique used in Brazil's unique basic education program. It meant a 'first step in the revolutionary effort, the effort to liberate the Brazilian man.'... After starting out simply as an emphasis in basic education, the question of conscientizacao quickly turned into something much bigger; as two groups, with opposing political ideals and contradictory views of the future of Latin America, seized upon it, it became a bitterly divisive issue. ... In the context of the ideological struggle, then, conscientizacao has two different meanings: 1. The reformists say that the spontaneous ideology of the masses will be awakened when they receive well-being and prosperity as gifts from the dominant class - or in the last analysis from a dominant foreign economy.... 2. No, say the revolutionaries, such an effort is not enough. The spontaneous ideology of the masses will be awakened only when they become builders of a revolutionary new society in which they can conquer human dignity by themselves." This issue of America lists the author as "Henrique C. de Lima Vaz, S.J., professor of philosophy at the Federal University, Belo Horizonte, Brazil."

(119) Wasserman, Miriam. "School Mythology and the Education of Oppression," This Magazine Is About Schools, Vol. 5, No. 3, Summer, 1971, pp. 23-36. Issue is $2.15 from 56 Esplanade Street East, Suite 401, Toronto 1, Ontario, Canada. Wasserman is author of The School Fix NYC USA. "These beautiful writings (Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Cultural Action for Freedom)... premise that education of the oppressed must accompany social revolution; and they elaborate a humanistic theory of consciousness-raising which is in opposition to elitist vanguard techniques. ... Freire's pedagogical technique...will feel familiar to nursery school educators and followers of Sylvia Ashton-Warner.... Freire, however, carries the exploratory methodology of Gattegno, Ashton-Warner, and thousands of nursury-school and progressive educators to the next and crucial step of conscientizacao.... It will not be enough to overcome the external relations of oppression. We will have to find new forms of education that will enable us to re-create ourselves in children who will refuse to be either oppressors or oppressed. To find these forms we have need not only of revolutionary educators like Freire, but also of the liberal school reformers like Silberman, Holt, and others."

(120) Weaver, Janice Farmer. "Paulo Freire and Education: One Sociological View," 5 page paper presented at AESA meeting, Feb. 23, 1972. See Item # 86. Weaver is with Glassboro State College. "What is unusual is that Freire's work is one of the few handbooks or manuals for revolution which is highly abstracted and intellectualized, in the tradition of early Marx. Other instructive diaries

and tracts for would be revolutionaries are not as sweeping in generalizations and analytic prose as Freire's.... Freire's conscientization however is for sociologists one dynamic of the socialization process and includes such other processes as the internalization of new belief patterns and constructs for organizing experience and behavior. Yet Freire negates internalization and socialization as described in sociology as 'domestication' leading to naive or false consciousness suitable to the oppressors or dominators of the culture.... There is an unresolved contradiction in Freire's process of conscientization. On the one hand he insists that critical consciousness cannot occur without 'denunciation of dehumanization and the annunciation of humanity as the historical vocation of man.' On the other hand the revolutionist is reminded again and again that generative and spontaneous themes are to be developed unique to the conditions of the participants and without the coercive direction from the leader-investigator in either the literacy phase or the post-literacy phase.... Freire's dream is the attainment of critical consciousness in which deliberate content is avoided while transcendental reality is perceived and articulated."

(121) Weffort, Francisco C. "Education and Politics (Sociological Reflections on education for freedom)." Written as an introduction to Freire's Education: An Exercise in Freedom (See Item # 17) and translated by Loretta Slover in June 1969. Our Source # 3. "Until this book was written - begun between prison terms after the fall of the Goulart government and concluded in exile - Freire's ideas were projected throughout Brazil less via academic texts than by public conferences and debates with the opponents of the Popular Education Movement, which he founded and directed prior to the 1964 coup.... The Popular Education Movement was the fullest attempt ever made in Brazil to democratize culture.... The experiment was completely successful as a test: tens of thousands of workers learned to read and write in a few months; several thousand young people and students became skilled coordinators of the method.... Freire knows that his work contains political implications, and knows moreover that these implications interest the people and not the elite. But he also knows that his field is education, not politics, and that he cannot, as an educator substitute for the revolutionary politician interested in knowing and transforming structures. Rejecting the traditional idea of education as 'the lever of progress,' would it make sense to substitute for it the equally naive thesis of education as 'the lever of the revolution?' Education for freedom can support popular politics, for conscientization is openness to understanding social structures as means of domination and violence. But the task of orienting this awareness in a specifically political direction belongs not to the educator but to the politician."

(122) Westerhoff, John III. "The Church and Education Debate," Religious Education, Jan-Feb. 1972, pp. 49-59. For address of magazine see Item # 109. Westerhoff is Editor of Colloquy. "Ferment arising from meetings in Bergen, Greenwich, and Lima (sponsored by the World Council of Churches) leads to a careful look at what is wrong with education and what we might learn from Latin Americans.... We cannot expect new goals for our educational institutions to emerge or survive without new societal goals. ... I suggest we carefully explore the thoughts of the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire.... I cannot help but think that in his thought may be the insight we need to surface among our people a debate of our society's goals."

(123) "What Is Conscientization?" Originally published in Tu y Tudos, a publication of Chilean Rural Catholic Action, and reprinted in LADOC, I, 11a, June 1970, 1 page. Our Source # 13. "A short vivid explanation, given by Latin Americans for Latin Americans on the meaning of conscientization.... Conscientization is [far] more than a method.... It is an awakening of man. What for? To acquire a new understanding of himself and of the world, so that he can be brought to carry out acts that will make him a new man and, furthermore, change situations, real life events about him."

(124) Williams, David Carlton. "Adult Needs Today: The Fruits of Neglect," Adult Education, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Fall 1971, pp. 57-60. "What Freire has labeled 'the banking concept of education' ... seems to be becoming education's primary mission, couched in what Allen has called the Myth of Original Stupidity: people are stupid until teachers make them smart. Consider Blakely's statement on the problems of professionalizing adult education: 'The needy are those whom we least know how to teach and who least know how to learn.' How can anyone not suffering from severe mental disorders escape learning? There is awesome potential in this logic for turning education into the habitual denial of individualism and for redefining freedom, in Hardin's words, as the recognition of the necessity of 'mutual coercion mutually agreed upon.' Is adult education to be another means to technological panic all in the name of 'the rapidly changing nature of modern life'?" Williams is an instructor in the Black Education Center, College of Education, Ohio State University. For address of magazine see Item # 72.

(125) Williams, Rick. "Towards a Pedagogy of Oppressed Youth," Convergence, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1971, pp. 80-84. Our Source # 5. See Item # 143. "Paulo Freire's word will be co-opted. It will be taken into the classroom as a means of involving learners in their own domestication. His name will be used to legitimize new curricula, teaching techniques, and technologies. He will become a guru among government planners, welfare workers, and activ-

ists who are fighting to keep their jobs and their institutions alive. ... The translation of adult education practices and principles into an educational approach for youth would be the beginning of the creation of a pedagogy of oppressed youth. This transformation would be a radical act, one which adult educators seem increasingly willing to escape."

(126) Wingeier, Douglas E. "Paulo Freire Pioneers Education For the Oppressed," Christian Advocate, March 30, 1972, pp. 14-15. "His main contribution, however, is not publication but a popular education movement which is doing something about both massive illiteracy and political mutism in the Third World.... Freire, like Ivan Illich, sees both the school and the church as instruments of social control, engaged in mythologizing reality in order to domesticate man."

(127) Woock, Roger. "Paulo Freire: Reformist or Revolutionary," 7 page paper presented at AESA meeting, Feb. 23, 1972. See Item # 86. Woock is a Professor, Dept. of Educational Foundations, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada. "At first the charge that Freire is not a revolutionary may strike the reader as being absurd for certainly he uses the appropriate language.... These terms occur, however, in a curious vacuum without being rooted in a social or economic context. For example, in attempting to analyse the concept of the oppressor certainly Freire could have pointed to the land owners and high church officials of Northeastern Brazil who were eventually responsible for the defeat of his attempted educational reforms, his arrest, and his expulsion from Brazil and yet no where do we find any reference to actual social conditions. Another indication of the thoroughly non-revolutionary nature of Freire's thought is in his consideration of violence. Although he correctly indicates that violence is always initiated by 'those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons, not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized,' he seems quite ambivalent about whether it is possible to initiate and bring to fruition a cultural and political revolution without the use of violence.... Not grounding his argument in a social context creates another difficulty for Freire. If we have learned anything about revolutionary possibilities in the last twenty years, it is that revolutions will take different forms in different social and economic situations. Revolution in Cuba has not been the same as revolution in Chile. By not linking his revolutionary model to a particular social and economic context, he makes it that much more difficult for those of us not in Northeastern Brazil to find it useful. Who specifically here in North America are the oppressors and the oppressed, where does violence play a role, where should it not play a role and what is the correct praxis? Are teachers in public schools oppressors or are they part of the oppressed? To answer these questions one

must virtually write another book filling in the social and economic context without which not much use can be made of Freire's analysis."

## PART VI: DISSERTATIONS AND THESES ON FREIRE, COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS

(128) Collins, Denis E. He is working on a doctoral dissertation in education at the University of Southern California probably comparing and contrasting some basic aspect of Freire's educational philosophy with that of some other philosopher of education. He has been at work particularly on Freire's writings in Spanish. His address: % College of the Queen of Peace, Box 4316, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

(129) Cunha, Rogerio de Almeida. Item # 42 states Cunha "is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the theories of Freire under the German theologian Johannes B. Metz."

(130) DeWitt, John J. An Exposition and Analysis of Paulo Freire's Radical Psycho-Social Andragogy of Development. Boston: Boston University, School of Education, 1971. 315 pages. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation. Doctoral Committee: Kenneth Benne, Stuart Langton, Malcolm Knowles, and Stuart Marshall. Order at $4.00 for microfilm or $10.00 for xerographic copy, plus shipping and handling charges, from University Microfilms, Dissertation Copies, P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Be sure to include Order No. 71-26,694 and author's name. DeWitt is now Instructor in Education and Assistant Director of Continuing Education, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824. The dissertation includes two appendices with DeWitt's English translations of Freire's 1968 Annual Report - Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute (Item # 24) and Chapter Four "Education and Conscientization" from La Educacion como Practica de la Libertad (Item # 17). From the Abstract: "After presenting the methodology itself, and after situating Freire within the broader context of community development and distinguishing between North and Latin American forms of social oppression, it is suggested that the consciousness raising side of Freire's methodology be coupled with a normative-re-educative strategy of social change by those responsible for the formation of educators in the United States. Finally, it is suggested that, if both pedagogues and andragogues are trained as conscientization facilitators and educators dedicated to normative re-education, social intelligence could happen here." Also contains an 88 item bibliography.

(131) Elias, John. He is at work on a doctoral dissertation in education at Temple University which will be a content examination of Freire's philosophy of education. See his paper - Item # 83. His address: 560 Cleardale Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08618.

(132) Flynn, Sister Betsy. Toward an Application of the Educational Theory of Paulo Freire to Judicial Process is the tentative title of her graduate thesis in progress. Write her at St. Martin's Convent, P.O. Box 1201, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.

(133) Hyland, John. He writes: "I plan to work in my doctoral dissertation on the adaptation of Freire's approach to the U.S., in terms of social-political consciousness, with either student groups or union members... I am finishing my doctoral credits in Sociology at the New School for Social Research. I have written two papers on Freire's 'conscientization' - one from the perspective of critical social theory, one from a symbolic action perspective." Write him at 39-60 65 Place, Woodside, New York 11377.

(134) Lloyd, Arthur S. He writes: "I am working on a M.S. in Cooperative Extension Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and hope to do a thesis on the significance of conscientization (Freire, in particular) to American adult education ... My thesis will be an exploratory study, probably expanding some of what I was getting at in this paper ( see Item # 92), on the uses of conscientization as a means to social change, as well as a critique of typical American adult education as lacking a means to radical social change.... One conceptual tool I think will prove useful will be the conflict-consensus dichotomy (following Rolf Dolhrendorf in Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society). Conscientization presupposes a conflict model of society; most American adult education presupposes a consensus model, I think. I may want to try to demonstrate the usefulness of a conflict model - and therefore conscientization - if social change rather than individual enrichment is the goal of adult education." His address: % St. Francis House, 1001 University Ave., Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

(135) Martin, D'Arcy. Martin is preparing a graduate thesis based on his experience working and studying in Latin America. He is doing it for the Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Martin's address is 267 St. George Street, Toronto 181, Ontario, Canada.

(136) Oliver, H. Allan. Visual Consciousness. Graduate Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1969. One third devoted to Freire's approach. Though Seminary Library states it doesn't have a copy, DeWitt in bibliography of Item # 130 says he has, and Source # 6 has one that is too faint to xerox.

(137) Resnick, Rosa Perla. She writes: "I am working on Paulo Freire's theory of education and its application to the field of social work in Latin America for my doctoral dissertation in social work at Yeshiva University." Her address: % International Association of Schools of Social Work, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017.

(138) Rickert, Thomas E. Rickert writes: "I did a master's thesis on social roles of American missionaries in Latin America and first came to enter into Freire's thought at that time." He also has compiled bibliographies concerning sociology of religion in Latin America and religion and social change in Latin America. Write him at The Sunset-Parkside Education and Action Committee, 1329 7th Avenue, San Francisco, California 94122.

(139) Romero, Joan Arnold. Radical Politics and Liberation Theology is the tentative title of her doctoral dissertation in progress at Harvard University. She writes: "The thrust of the dissertation is primarily theological, but I am inclined to define 'theology' as man's reflection on values and to allow its relation in a rather strong sense to the working out of those values. Thus theology is related not only to ethics but to politics. For the Latin American Liberation theologians, theology is also a matter of 'conscientization' in a quite conscious sense. The dissertation is divided into three parts: (1) Camilo Torres as priest and guerrilla fighter, his own coming to consciousness and working that out through political involvement, and the effect that had on others; (2) Paulo Freire, as educator working with adults in the Northeast of Brazil, and the relation of his work to both theology and politics (Dick Shaull comments that Freire is doing theology in a real sense, and that is what I shall try to spell out); (3) Liberation theology as it is being currently developed. Some of this material has been presented at the annual CICOP meetings. What interests me about Freire in particular is that through his involvement with the people, especially the marginal peasant, he came to understand the role of the people as creators of their own history and their own culture. He rejects any theory or practice of education that would make people merely passive or receptive, and seeks to develop a form of education not that would liberate people, but would allow them to liberate themselves. Theologically this is important, because so much of the theological tradition has emphasized God as Lord, man as slave or servant, which has been institutionalized politically and economically along the same lines. If man is active and can really initiate and create his own world, the old theological categories are inadequate." For further information on Ms. Romero and her address see # 11.

(140) Sherwin, Harriet. Paulo Freire, His Philosophy and Pedagogy and Its Implications for American Education is the title of her doctoral dissertation now past the proposal stage at the University of California-Berkeley. Her address: Box 363, Belvedere, California 94920.

(141) Sicre, Betty. Ms. Sicre, a consultant in Community Development with the World Bank, is preparing a doctoral dissertation of Freire's ideas following a meeting with him in Geneva. Her address: Camino Sur, 8, La Moraleja, Alcobendas (Madrid), Spain.

(142) Unknown name. In the bibliography prepared by P. Hugo Assmann in Item # 175 there is a reference to a "doctoral thesis" in preparation in Italy on Freire's pedagogy. No name is given.

(143) Williams, Rick. Investigation of the Practicability of the Pedagogical Theory of Conscientization in an Affluent Technological Society is the title of his graduate thesis now in progress in the Dept. of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. His address: % Counterfoil, 400 Hopewell Ave., Toronto 10, Ontario, Canada.

## PART VII: MATERIAL ON FREIRE IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH

(144) Alves, R. Religion: opio o instrumento de liberacion. Montevideo: Tierra, 1970. From bibliography in Item # 175 which says "La obra teologica de R. Alves...debe mucho a Paulo Freire."

(145) Anonimo. Se Vive Como Se Puedo. Montevideo, Uruguay: Tierra Nueva, 1970. 117 pages. (resultados de una experiencia de aplicacion de la pedagogia de P. Freire) From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

(146) Arnaud, Gabriel. "Comment Paolo Freire voulait changer les Bresiliens," Terre Entiere, Mars-Avril 1969, pp. 8-38. Reference in Item # 130.

(147) Assmann, Hugo. Articulo en Herder Korrespondez, Freiburg Br., 23, 1969, cuaderno 7. From bibliography in Item # 175.

(148) Bezerra de Melo, Almeri. "Metodo 'Paulo Freire' de Alfabetizacion En Brasil," Comunidad, Mexico, Universidad Iberoamericana, Vol. 2, No. 6, June 1967, pp. 137-144. Our Source # 13.

(149) Boletin Informativo. Universidad de Recife, March 11, 1963, pp. 18-21, (importante para conocer los comienzos del 'metodo' de Freire). From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

(150) Categuesis Latinoamericana. Asuncion, CLAF, 1, 1969, No. 3, diversos articulos. From bibliography in Item # 175.

(151) Castillo, Gabriel I. "Educacion Para La Libertad," no indication of journal or date except "Chilean magazine, pp. 269-277." Our Sources # 3 & 11.

(152) "Chants, danses, fetes et 'Conscientisation' au Bresil," Terre Entiere, Paris, Vol. 37, Sept-Oct, 1969, pp. 54-78. Our Source # 1 as Doc. 70/208, also Source # 11.

(153) Conciencia y Revolucion. Montevideo, Uruguay: Tierra Nueva, 1970. 117 pages. Order at $3.00 from Tierra Nueva, Pza, Cagancha 1342 P. 1, of. 6, Montevideo, Uruguay. Contains the following five essays on Paulo Freire's pedagogy: "Cambio social e ideologia," by Hiber Conteris; "La alienacion como conciencia

dual," by Julio Barreiro; "De la conciencia oprimida a la conciencia critica," by Julio de Santa Ana; "Condicionantes ideologicos - Obstaculos para el Hombre Nuevo," by Ricardo Cetrulo; and "La Accion cultural o accion concientizadora," by Vincent Gilbert. Our Source # 13.

(154) Costa, Vittorio. "Novo conceito de desenvolvimento na literatura actual e no pensamento de Paulo Freire," en: Revista de Cultura Vozes, 64, 1970, pag. 291-301. From bibliography in Item # 175.

(155) Creamor, Pedro. "Educacion y Concientizacion de la Juventad para la Vida," Revista Inter-Americana de Educacion, No. 157, November 1969. 15 pages. Our Source # 13.

(156) Cunha, Jose Roberto. "Aspectos Metodologicos del Sistema Paulo Freire," Santiago, Chile: Secretariado de Communicacion (SEDECOS), 1969. Our Source # 13.

(157) Cunha, Jose Roberto. Elementos Para La Investigacion Del Universo Tematico. SEDECOS, 1971. 50 pages. Address: Casilla 12985, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile. From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

(158) Cunha, Jose Roberto. El Curriculum Modalidad Pedagogica De La Accion Cultural. SEDECOS, Santiago, 1971. From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

(159) de Tarso Santos, Paulo. "Educacion y Cambio Social," Dept. of Planning and Methods of Rural Education, ICIRA - FAO. 13 pages. No date, manuscript - working paper. Our Source # 11.

(160) Educacion Y Concientizacion, editado en Cuadernos Liberacion, Ed. Secretariado Social Mexicano, 1970. From bibliography listed in Source # 2.

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